

# The Classical Review

DECEMBER 1903.

THE events of the last week of November included three of more than ordinary interest to friends of the Classics.

*The Classical Association of England and Wales*, to whose contemplated formation reference was made in our issue of June last, then entered upon its initial stage. The organizing Committee consisting of Principal Bodington, Professor R. S. Conway, Dr. Gow, Miss Penrose, Mr. A. Sidgwick, Professor Sonnenschein and the editor of this Review put out the prospectus together with a first list of about a hundred supporters; and by the end of the month the adhesions to the Association amounted to between two and three hundred. These have come from all parts of the country and represent every variety of interest in Classical Studies. It would be useless to analyze the list at the present stage, but it may be said that it includes the Vice-Chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge together with a large proportion of the Classical teachers at these centres. The Classical staff of the 'junior' Universities and Colleges and the Head Masters of the great public schools are almost unanimous in support of the project. We should add that copies of the prospectus with the first list of names may be obtained from Dr. J. P. Postgate, 54 Bateman Street, Cambridge, and that the preliminary meeting of the Association will be held at University College, Gower Street, London, on Saturday Dec. 19 at 3 p.m.

On the 26th of November the Senate of Cambridge assented to the re-opening of the 'Greek' or perhaps we should now rather say the 'Classical question.' That in the face of recent occurrences a demand for an inquiry would not be refused was almost a

foregone conclusion; but a minority of some 80 out of 250 votes was cast against the inquiry or its amplitude and one of some 90 out of the same total against the composition of the syndicate which was to conduct it.

The triennial performances of a Greek play at Cambridge fell in the same week. The drama chosen was the *Birds of Aristophanes* and Sir Hubert Parry's music, written for the performances of 1883, was revived. For the following brief appreciation we are indebted to a correspondent.

'The acting throughout was creditable. Mr. J. T. Sheppard, as *Peithetairos*, had caught the spirit of his part, with its difficult combination of wit and cleverness, subtle rhetoric and broad humour. Mr. F. C. S. Carey, the *Coryphaeus*, delivered the *Parabasis* with extraordinary effect, to the accompaniment of slow music, specially written for this performance. The chorus had been excellently trained; and the stage effects were beautiful. The spectator was left with a deep impression of the fantastic and lyrical atmosphere of the piece, and with a haunting uncertainty about its meaning. If meaning there be, it seemed to be rather religious than political. But perhaps *Peithetairos* took the religious side a little too seriously.'

The work which the newly formed *Cambridge Classical Society* and its devoted Secretary Mr. F. M. Cornford did to stimulate intelligent interest in the performances by arranging a series of three lectures upon the drama, delivered by Sir R. C. Jebb, Dr. Verrall and Mr. H. J. Edwards, deserves a word of recognition.

F F

THE MEANING OF ὄμμα τέτραπται, EURIPIDES, HIPPOLYTUS 246.<sup>1</sup>

VON WILAMOWITZ, in his edition of the *Hippolytus*, has the following note on ὄμμα τέτραπται: 'die gesichtsfarbe schlägt um, wie χρῶς τέτραπται bei Homer N 279, wohin der umschlag erfolgt, ist mit dem affect bezeichnet, dessen ausdrück die neue farbe ist, ἐπ' αἰσχύνην.' In my edition of the play I took exception to this interpretation, declaring that the words were rather to be taken literally 'my eye has turned to shame, i.e. I am now sensible of it (being blind before).' Compare the tense (perfect of present condition) with the preceding verbs (παρεπλάγχθην . . . ἐμάνην . . . αἰδοῦμεθα . . . βαίνει) and note the constant reference to consciousness and unconsciousness (παρεπλάγχθην γνώμης ἀγαθῆς . . . ὀρθοῦσθαι γνώμην . . . τὸ δὲ μαινόμενον . . . μὴ γινώσκοντα). The grief-stricken woman, who has fallen δαίμονος ἄτη, is not thinking, as the tears come to her eyes, of the change in colour, of the blushes that may cover her cheeks, but of the awakening to the terrible reality, as opposed to the illusions to which she has been subject. This awakening brings with it a sense of honour lost (αἰσχύνῃ)—τὸ δ' ἔργον ἤδη τὴν νόσον τε δυσκλεᾶ, she says in 404, and μήποτ' ἀνδρα τὸν ἐμὸν αἰσχύνωσ' ἄλῳ (420). She wishes her children to live in glorious Athens μητρὸς εἵνεκ' εὐκλείης (423). It is only the possession of a good conscience (γνώμην δίκαιαν καγαθήν) that makes life worth living (427). That the sinner is discovered soon or late she knows, and prays that 'the slowly moving finger of time' may never be pointed at her (παρ' οἷσι μήποτ' ὀφθείην ἐγώ, 430). Furthermore, it is certainly unnatural for Phaedra, especially in her present condition of mind, to make remarks on her own change of colour, however natural it might be for her to note the phenomenon in others. Observe particularly the comments of the nurse on the queen's frenzied utterances (223, 232), and her own self-commiseration, when her attendant wonders ὅστις σε θεῶν ἀνασειράζει | καὶ παρακόπτει φρένας, ὦ παῖ (237). At this juncture Phaedra comes to her senses and exclaims δίστηνος ἐγώ, τί ποτ' εἰργασάμην; and (later) φεῦ φεῦ, τλήμων. These expressions, with κατ' ὅσων δάκρυ μοι βαίνει, are psychologically incompatible with a reference to her external appearance. Both αἰδοῦμεθα and αἰσχύνῃ refer to her inward

shrinking, now that she has awakened to a sense of her disgrace, not to any outward manifestation of that disgrace. It is the αἶσχος καὶ ψόγον she fears. (Indeed, αἰσχύνῃ does not appear in the extant literature until a few years before this play was written; Demosthenes translates the Solonian αἶσχος by αἰσχύνῃ). 'Spare, spare me, | Sinning or no, forget that, only spare me | The horrible scorn.' Cf. *Phoen.* 198 ff.

In the *Classical Review* for June, 1901, Mr. Ellershaw (in a notice of my book so favourable that it were ungracious to call attention to the few minor points in which he differed from me) agreed with Wilamowitz in his interpretation of the passage under discussion. Recently, I have met with so many examples which seem to show that the position of the German and English scholars is untenable that I have deemed it worth while to re-open the question.<sup>2</sup>

The first thing to be observed, in the comparison of the sentence in N 279 with *Hippolytus* 246, is that the subjects are not the same,—ὄμμα is not χρῶς. When Plato desires to express the idea of 'changing colour'—and he does very often—he uses neither ὄμμα nor τρέπειν, e.g. *Lysis* 222 B ὁ δὲ Ἰπποθάλῃς ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς παντοδαπὰ ἡφίει χρώματα. The noun ὄμμα, even in the sense of *os*, is never used with τρέπειν to express an idea similar to that

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps I may be allowed a single παρέκβασις to comment on Mr. Ellershaw's objection to my statement that the use of βούλομαι for ἐθέλω was an innovation of Euripides, since Aeschylus (the writer says) uses βούλομαι at least three times. But there is no better proof of my assertion. ἐθέλω belongs to elevated language. Pindar uses βούλομαι but once. Aeschylus is usually as lofty as the Theban poet, but he occasionally descends to the ground from which he takes his eagle flight, and it is noteworthy that two of the three examples of βούλομαι occur in a play which is remarkable for its naive simple tone, and in the same part of the play by the same *dramatis persona* (*Prom.* 867, 929). It is a drama which contains a scene of which the celebrated French critic, Patin, says: 'C'est peut-être l'exemple le plus remarquable qu'on puisse citer de l'aisance avec laquelle les Grecs savaient varier le ton de leurs ouvrages. Le poète, dans la plus haute et la plus sublime production du théâtre du théâtre conserve le souvenir, ne craint pas de s'approcher des limites de la comédie' (p. 268). Aristophanes, of course, does not hesitate to use βούλομαι, but Euripides was the first tragedian to rebel against the poetic vocabulary. True, Sophocles uses βούλομαι, but Sophocles felt the influence of Euripides; and in seven plays Sophocles uses the poetical word almost three times as often as Euripides in nineteen.

<sup>1</sup> A paper read before the American Philological Association at Yale University in July 1903.

in the Homeric passage, whereas ὄμμα in the sense of *oculus*, with both *τρέπειν* and *βάλλειν*, is a very frequent combination. In the second place, the idea of changing colour is not unfrequently expressed by the tragic poets,<sup>1</sup> but never with ὄμμα and *τρέπειν*, e.g. Eur. *Med.* 1168 *χροιὰν ἀλλάξασα*. Cp. λ 529 *ὀχρήσαντα χροῖα*. On the other hand, ὄμμα is combined with *τρέπειν* and *στρέφειν* in numerous passages by the tragic poets in the sense of *oculus vertere* (cp. Aesch. *Prom.* 708, where M has *στρέψασα*, the other MSS. *τρέψασα*, which Hermann adopts): Eur. *I. T.* 68 ὄμμα πανταχοῦ *στρέφων*, *Hel.* 1573 ὄμμι' ἀναστρέφων *κύκλω*, 1147 ὀμμάτων ἀπο κόρας *στρέφουσιν*, Aesch. *Fr.* 311 ὄμμα *τρέποντα*, *Ag.* 779 *παλιντρέποις ὄμμασι* (cp. *Prom.* 882), *Cho.* 99 *ἀστροφόουσιν ὄμμασιν*, Soph. *Ai.* 69 f. ἐγὼ γὰρ ὀμμάτων ἀστροφόφους (proleptic = ἀποστρέψασα) *αὐγὰς ἀπείρξω σὴν πρόσσιν εἰσιδεῖν*. Cp. *Rep. Lac.* 3. 4 ὄμματα *μεταστρέφαις*, Aesch. *Fr.* 297 τὸ *σκαῖον ὄμμα προσβάλων*, Eur. *Med.* 923 *στρέψασα ἔμπαλιν παρηίδα*. The turning of the eye in a certain direction is equivalent to looking in that direction, ποῖ ὄμμα *τρέπων* to ποῖ *βλέπων* (Soph. *Ai.* 1290). In N 279 the shifting is vividly expressed by the addition of *ἀλλὰ* *ἄλλῃ*, just as in Xenophon *Anabasis* 4. 8. 9 the actual local turning in various directions is expressed in practically the same way (*φύγῃ ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἐπάπετο*). But the usual preposition employed to indicate the direction of the turning is *ἐπὶ*. I shall cite only a few of the hundred examples: Eur. *I. A.* 646 *μὴ τ' ἐπὶ φροντίδας τρέπον*, Soph. *Ai.* 772 *ἐπ' ἐχθροῖς χεῖρα φοινίαν τρέπειν* (epic. dat.), Ar. *Ran.* 1025 *ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ἐπάπεσθε*, *Nub.* 589 *ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον τρέπειν*, *Plut.* 317, *Vesp.* 986, *Lysias* 2. 64, 10. 30, 12. 5, 18. 18, *Dem.* 9. 14, *Hdt.* 1. 117, 7. 16. 2 *τέτραψαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμείνω*, Plato *Symp.* 210 D, [*Theognis*] 78 (Pomtow) *ἦν τ' ἐπὶ σωφροσύνην τρεφθῇ νόος*. This last example is exactly parallel to *ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ ὄμμα τέτραπται*. Here *νόος* is used, there ὄμμα (through which the νοῦς perceives); and in both passages *mind* is the initial notion (*γνώμης* 240, *ἐμάνην* 241, *ὀρθοῦσθαι γνώμην* 247, *μὴ γιγνώσκοντα* 248). Cp. Soph. *El.* 902 f. *ἐκπαίει τί μοι | ψυχῇ ξύνθηδες ὄμμα*. But the crowning example of this use of the verb to indicate the direction in which the eyes are turned, with the preposition *ἐπὶ*, is Plato, 519 A, *ὡς δριμύ μὲν βλέπει τὸ ψυχάριον καὶ ὀξέως διορᾷ ταῦτα ἐφ' ἃ τέτραπται ὡς οὐ φαῦλῃν ἔχον τὴν ὄψιν*. Hardly less apposite is 591 C *οὐχ ὅπως τῇ θηριωδεὶ καὶ ἀλόγῳ ἡδονῇ ἐπιτρέψας ἐνταῦθα τετραμμένος ζῇσει, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πρὸς ὑγίειαν βλέπων*. So in the Euripidean sen-

tence ὄμμα *τέτραπται* means *ὀρῶ*, *βλέπω*. Phaedra now has regard for that which she disregarded before—*αἰσχύνῃ*. There is no need of resorting to the laboured explanation that *ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ* is used for the new colour to which the ὄμμα has changed ('mit dem affect bezeichnet, dessen ausdrück die neue farbe ist'). The sentence in the preceding verse (*κατ' ὅσων δάκρυ μοι βαίνει*) is really the result of *ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ ὄμμα τέτραπται*. Cp. the exclamation of Ion: *φεῦ φεῦ κατ' ὅσων ὡς ὑγρὸν βάλλω δάκρυ, | ἐκέισε τὸν νοῦν δούς, δὲ ἡ τεκοῦσά με κτε* (*Ion.* 1369 f.). So Polynices weeps at the sight of his father's sorrows: *δακρύσω . . . τὰ τοῦδ' ὀρῶν πατρὸς γέροντος* (*O.C.* 1255). It is Phaedra's shame that 'Draws those heaven-moving pearls from her poor eyes.' ποῖ *βλέπων*, like *τί μαθὼν* and *τί παθὼν*, is a common tragic and Platonic phrase for *διὰ τί*. Cp. *Laches*, 195 A *πρὸς τί τοῦτ' εἶπες βλέπας*, 197 E *οἶποι ποτὲ βλέπων . . . τοῖνομα τοῦτο τίθησι τὴν ἀνδρείαν*, Soph. *El.* 887 f. *εἰς τί μοι | βλέψασα θάλπει τῷδ' ἀνηκέστῳ πυρί*; The nurse might have asked: 'what are you looking at (*πρὸς τί βλέπων*) that you weep so?' And the queen might have replied *πρὸς αἰσχύνῃν βλέπω* = *ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃν ὄμμα τέτραπται*. That the Greeks were fond of expressing accurately the direction in which the gaze was turned, is shown by their use of compounds where in English the simple verb often suffices, *εἰσορᾶν*, *προσδέρκεσθαι*, *ἀποσκοπεῖν* (Eur. *Suppl.* 236), *πρὸς τὰ κοῖν' ἀποβλέπειν* (*turn his attention to, Id.* 432). Note also the frequent use of *ἀπὸ* (the opposite of *ἐπὶ*) in compounds with ὄμμα and its congeners (*ἀποπτος*, Soph. *O.T.* 762, *El.* 1489, *ἀπ' ὀψεως*, *ἀπ' ὀμμάτων*). Phaedra had said of herself *παρεπλάγχθη γνώμης*. Now *ὀρθοῦσθαι γνώμην* could be said of her. Like Ajax (Soph. *Ai.* 715) *ἐξ ἀέλπτων μετανεγνώσθη*, a sentence which, by the way, is rendered by Schneidewin-Nauck into a German idiom which corresponds to the expression employed by Phaedra: 'da Aias seinen Sinn zum Besseren gewendet habe.' Phaedra is now *πρὸς τὸ κέρδιστον τραπεῖς | γνώμης* (*Ai.* 743).

Another fact to be noted is that ὄμμα is used very frequently to denote the eye by the tragic poets, whereas ὀφθαλμός of the actual eye is rare in Aeschylus and not very common in Sophocles and Euripides. Cp. Aesch. *Ag.* 419 ὀμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχρηνίαις ἔρρει πᾶς Ἀφροδίτῃ, *Suppl.* 716 *πρῶρα πρόσθεν ὄμμασιν βλέποντο* ὁδόν, 467 ὀμμάτωσα γὰρ σαφέστερον, *Cho.* 854 *φρένα ὀμματωμένην*. Aeschylus never uses ὄμμα for face. It is the ὄμμα that *sees* (*δεδορκὸς ὄμμα Suppl.* 409).

Plato uses both ὀφθαλμός and ὄμμα, e.g. *Charmides* 156 ε and ζ (ὀφθαλμούς twice followed by ὀμμάτων and again in 156 ε in the same order). Not only, then, would ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ be twisted out of its natural meaning and τέτραπται given an un-Euripidean turn by rendering 'es färbt meine wangen die röte der scham,' but even ὄμμα would be employed in its less usual sense. Moreover, τρέπειν and στρέφειν are often used absolutely (in compounds with a privative) to signify *respicere*: Soph. *O.C.* 489 f. ἄπυστα φωνῶν μηδὲ μηκύνων βοήν | ἔπειτ' ἀφέρπειν ἀστροφος (cp. Aesch. *Cho.* 99) Theocritus 24. 92 ἀψ δὲ νέεσθαι | ἀστρεπτος. Cp. Verg. *Ecl.* 8. 102 'nec respexeris,' Ov. *Fasti.* 6. 164 'Quique sacris adsunt respicere illa vetat.'

Shame, pity, fear, love are chiefly manifested through the eye. In the first stasimon of the *Hippolytus* the chorus sings 'Ἔρως Ἔρως; ὁ κατ' ὀμμάτων | στάζεις πόθον. Love is inspired as well as betrayed by the eye. As with ἔρως so with αἰδώς. Sappho says αἰδώς κέ σ' οὐκ ἂν εἶχεν ὄμματα. To the Greek the eye was king of the organs of sense. When he looked upon an object he became sensible of it; he felt it. In Euripides *Supplikes* 190 τὰ τ' οἰκτρὰ γὰρ δέδορκε is equivalent to ἐλεεῖ, just as ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ ὄμμα τέτραπται = αἰσχύνῃ ἀποβλέπω = αἰσχύνομαι. Cp. 176 ff.: σοφὸν δὲ πενίαν τ' εἰσορᾶν τὸν ὄλβιον, | πένητά τ' εἰς τοὺς πλουσίους ἀποβλέπειν | ζηλοῦνθ', ἵν' αὐτὸν χρημάτων ἔρως ἔχη | τὰ τ' οἰκτρὰ τοὺς μὴ δυστυχεῖς δεδορκέναι | τὸν θ' ἡμνοποῦν αὐτὸς ἂν τίκτη μέλη | χαίροντα τίκτειν' ἦν δὲ μὴ πάσῃ τόδε κτί. Here we have three synonyms of ὄρᾶν used to designate the action of sight as a natural antecedent of certain πάθη. So Tecmessa speaks of looking on one's sufferings as being equivalent to spreading for one's self a bed of woes: τὸ γὰρ ἐσλεύσσειν οἰκία πάθη . . . μεγάλας δδύνas ὑποτείνει (*Ai.* 260)—she refers to Ajax, who, like Phaedra, has just recovered from an attack of madness (καὶ νῦν φρόνιμος νέον ἄλγος ἔχει)—and the chorus suggests that if their chieftain would only turn his eyes toward them he might come to himself and feel a sense of shame: τάχ' ἂν τιν' αἰδῶ κατ' ἐμοὶ βλέψας (*ipso aspectu meo*) λάβοι (345). "Ὄμμα, which connoted the object, as well as the organ and the act of vision, meant much more to the Greeks than 'eye' does to us; and Euripides is not the blunderer he is represented by one of the shining lights of modern literary criticism, when he makes Hippolytus wish for a mirror that he may behold himself

and weep, τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πάθη ἐσλεύσσειν. Shame could not have possessed Phaedra's eye if she had not turned it in the direction of αἰσχύνῃ. That the ancients regarded the eye as the seat of αἰδώς there is abundant testimony. The organ by which a feeling is chiefly expressed is naturally regarded as the seat of that emotion. With αἰδώς and αἰσχύνῃ, the feelings with which Phaedra is possessed (she uses both words) the expression had become proverbial: ἡ παροιμία τὸ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς εἶναι αἰδῶ (*Ar. Rhet.* 2. 6. 18). Cp. Suidas (s.v. αἰδώς): αἰδώς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν καίται, *Ar. Vesp.* 447 οὐδ' ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν αἰδώς, Athenaeus 13. 564 b ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ εἶφη τοὺς ἐραστὰς εἰς οὐδὲν ἄλλο τοῦ σώματος τὸν ἐρωμένων ἀποβλέπειν ἢ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἐν οἷς τὴν αἰδῶ κατοικεῖν, Theog. 85 οἷσιν ἐπὶ γλώσση τε καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἔπασιν αἰδώς, Theoc. 27. 69 ὄμμασιν αἰδομένη Eustathius on *Il.* N 923. 18 (Gaisford) Ἀριστοτέλους γὰρ φιλοσοφώτατα παραδομένον οἰκητήριον αἰδῶς εἶναι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. Even justice and fear and anxiety reside in the eyes: δίκη γὰρ οὐκ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς βροτῶν, ἀμφὶ δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς φόβος (*Aesch. Pers.* 168), μέγαν ὄκνον ἔχω καὶ πεφόβημαι | πτηνῆς ὡς ὄμμα πελείας (*Soph. Ai.* 139 f.) ὀμμάτων φόβον (*O.C.* 729). Grief is found in the eyes: ἔλυσεν αἰνὸν ἄχος ἀπ' ὀμμάτων Ἄρης (*Soph. Ai.* 706). Ellershaw cites the English expression 'my face is covered with shame' to support his interpretation; but this proves nothing. Many phrases from Shakespeare and from the Bible might be quoted to prove the opposite.

It might be argued that the translation 'change colour' harmonizes with the frequent use of κρύπτειν in this scene; but this is the modern rather than the antique feeling. Under the weight of grief, in fear, or in desperation, the ancients were wont to cover the head, ἐγκαλύψασθαι, *caput obvolvere, operire, velare*. Cp. *θ* 92 ἀψ Ὀδυσσεὺς κατὰ κράτη καλυψάμενος γοάσκειν, *Soph. Ai.* 245 f. ὥρα τιν' ἤδη κᾶρα καλύμμασι | κρυψάμενον ποδοῖν κλοπᾶν ἀρέσθαι, 1145 ὑφ' εἵματος κρυφθεῖς, *Livy* 4. 12 'multi ex plebe capitibus obvolutis se in Tiberim praecipitaverunt', *Hor. Sat.* 2. 3. 37 'cum vellem mittere operito me capite in flumen, *Plaut. Mostell.* 2. 2. 89 'cave respexis, fuge, et operi caput,' *Sueton. Calig.* 51 'nam, qui deos tantopere contemneret, ad minima tonitrua et fulgura connivere, caput obvolvere, ad vero maiora proripere se e strato sub lectumque condere solebat.'

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## PLATO AND ORPHEUS.

πανταχοῦ γὰρ ὁ Πλάτων παρῴδει τὰ τοῦ  
'Ορφέως.

*Olympiodorus.*

The object of this paper is to trace in the mythical setting of some of the Platonic dialogues certain religious conceptions which Plato borrowed from Orphism, and to show how he transformed them to his own philosophical uses.

## THE GOLDEN AGE. GUARDIAN SPIRITS.

We shall begin with a passage in the *Cratylus* (397 B) in which Socrates, under the inspiration of his morning colloquy with the pious Euthyphro—the Euthyphro of the dialogue on the characteristically Orphic conception of 'Holiness'—begins, with Hermogenes, the systematic investigation of the correctness of names. They discuss the derivations of the four terms θεός, δαίμων, ἦρωσ, ἄνθρωπος. After deriving θεός from θεΐν, Socrates proceeds:

S. What shall we take next? Spirits (δαίμονας), I suppose, and Heroes, and Men?

H. Yes, Spirits.

S. What can be the real meaning of the name 'Spirits'? You must tell me if you think I am right.

H. Go on.

S. You know who Hesiod says the Spirits are?

H. I do not remember.

S. At least you remember that he says the first race of mankind was golden?

H. Yes, I know so much.

S. Well, then, he says about it:

'This race, now Fate's dark veil hath shadowed them,  
Are called pure Spirits ranging over earth,

Kind guardians of man, averting ill.'<sup>1</sup>

H. And what then?

S. This: I think that by 'golden race' he means not 'made of gold,' but good and beautiful. The inference is supported by his calling us a race of iron.

H. True.

S. Do you not think, then, that he would say that anyone, even in this present age, who is good, belongs to that race of gold?

H. Probably.

S. But the good are nothing if not wise.

H. Yes.

S. This, then, above all, is, in my opinion, what he means by 'Spirits': he calls them spirits (δαίμονας) because they are wise and intelligent (δαίμονες)—in our archaic language the actual name is found. Hesiod then is right, and so are all other poets who say that a good man, after his death, is destined to high honour and becomes a spirit, being so called after his wisdom. And I agree that every man who is good is of a spiritual nature (δαμόνιον), whether living or dead, and is rightly called a spirit.<sup>2</sup>

Socrates, still under Euthyphro's inspiration, goes on to derive ἦρωσ from ἔρωσ εἶρεν ἔρωτάν and ἄνθρωπος from ἀνθρώων ἄσσωπεν, and finally to improve on the Orphic σῶμα σῆμα by suggesting that the body is the prison-house in which the soul σῶζεται till it shall have paid the debt of its sins. These passages will be considered later.

The familiar lines of Hesiod (*O.D.* 109) cited by Socrates may be rendered as follows:

A golden race of mortals first was made  
By the high gods who on Olympus dwell.  
When Cronos yet was king in Heaven, they  
lived

The life of gods with careless heart, afar  
From pain and grief; nor even weakling  
age

Came on them, but with lifelong youth of limb

They knew not cares: life was a joyous  
feast,

And Death's hand soft as sleep. All gifts  
of good

Were theirs—gift of the grain, rich fruitful-  
ness

Of earth, unlaboured; gift of quiet life,  
Busy with country works and loving ten-  
dance

Of the fair flock, in happy Heaven's eye.  
And when this race at last was lapped in  
earth,

By God's high will, as Spirits beneficent  
They range the earth, watching o'er mortal  
life,<sup>2</sup>

It will be noted that Plato inserts ἄγροί and ἀλεξίκακοι, both in the *Cratylus* and at *Rep.* 468 E. For the latter epithet cf. Pollux. *Onom.* V. 131 οἱ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ μοῖρ' ἐκάλυψεν,  
οἱ μὲν δαίμονες ἄγροί ἐπιχθόνιοι καλέονται,  
ἑσθλοί, ἀλεξίκακοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.  
ἐπιχθόνιοι (not ὑποχθόνιοι) with Par. G. Steph.  
Stallb. Hes. *O.D.* 123, Plato *Rep.* 469 A.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψεν  
τοὶ μὲν δαίμονες εἰς Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλὰς  
ἑσθλοί, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.  
It will be noted that Plato inserts ἄγροί and  
ἀλεξίκακοι, both in the *Cratylus* and at *Rep.* 468 E.  
For the latter epithet cf. Pollux. *Onom.* V. 131 οἱ δὲ

The just deed and the unjust. Robed in air

They walk invisible through every land,  
Givers of wealth—this too their kingly hest.

These lines are quoted again by Plato in a significant connection. In the *Republic*, at the end of the digression about war, Socrates proceeds (468 E):

‘And when any die upon service, shall we not, in the first place, give out that he who has fallen with honour belongs to the golden race?

—Certainly.

—And shall we not believe with Hesiod that when any of this race die

“Pure spirits they become, to range the earth,

Kind guardians of man, averting ill”?

—Yes.

—We shall then inquire of the God with what ceremonies and distinctions men of spiritual and godlike nature should be interred, and so proceed in the manner he prescribes?

—By all means.

—And ever afterwards we shall think of them as spirits and pay reverence and worship at their sepulchres accordingly. And we shall hold the same custom when death from old age or any other cause comes to any that have been esteemed good and true men while they lived.

—It is but just, he answered.’

When this passage is taken in conjunction with the etymological equivalence *δαίμονες* *δαήμονες*, the inference is irresistible that in calling the rulers of Callipolis ‘Guardians’ (*φύλακες*), Plato was not merely influenced by a desire to avoid the associations of terms in common use (*ἄρχων*, *ἑφορος*, etc.), but had definitely in view the Guardian Spirits<sup>1</sup> of mythology. The source of the term seems to have escaped notice. The reason for the choice of it lies in certain far-reaching implications of which Plato was glad to avail himself.

Before following out these implications, we may look at another passage in which Hesiod’s symbolism of a golden, a silver, an iron age, etc., is adopted by Plato.

When the natural qualities of a good guardian—those of the watch-dog—have been corrected or fortified by the discipline of musical and gymnastic education, those

*δαίμονες, οἱ μὲν λύοντες τὰς ἀρὰς ἀλεξικάκοι λέγονται, ἀπογομπαῖοι, ἀποτροπαῖοι, λύσιοι, φύσιοι· οἱ δὲ κυροῦντες ἀλγίηριοι, ἀλγίτηριωδεῖς, προστροπαῖοι, παλαμναῖοι.*

<sup>1</sup> *δαίμων φύλας* in its ordinary sense of tutelary genius, *Rep.* 620 E.

who by various tests have proved themselves most worthy to rule are to be selected and called ‘guardians’ in a narrower sense. The remainder are to be ‘auxiliaries,’ whose business is to support the guardians’ authority. The selection is to be justified by a mythical account which Socrates propounds with much hesitation (414 B). The youths are to be taught that their nurture and education by us was a dream. Really, they were being formed and moulded, and their arms and equipment forged, within the earth beneath.<sup>2</sup> When they were perfected, Earth, their mother, sent them up into the light. Hence they must defend their country and take thought for her as for a mother, and for their fellows as for brother children of Earth. Further, they will be taught that the reason for the three classes of citizens is that God, in moulding them, mixed gold in the nature of some—and these are worthy to rule; silver in others—these are auxiliaries; and iron and bronze in those who are to be husbandmen and craftsmen. But the distinction does not go by birth: the children of one class may belong by intrinsic worth to another.

We have, then, besides the gods (*θεοί*), three orders of men in the Platonic State, symbolised by (1) gold, (2) silver, (3) iron and bronze; as in the *Cratylus* there were in all four orders of beings: Gods, spirits, heroes, men. Plutarch<sup>3</sup> observes: ‘Hesiod first clearly and definitely set forth four kinds of rational natures, gods, then spirits many and good, then heroes, and finally men: the demigods are assigned to the class of heroes.’ Proclus, plainly with the *Cratylus* in mind, follows Plutarch. He says<sup>4</sup>: ‘Those who depart from life and are guardians of human life, Hesiod calls spirits, either because they are all-wise (*παρὰ τὸ δαῖναι τὰ πάντα*), or because they allot (*μερίζειν*, i.e. *δαίειν*) good and bad to men. . . Or does he mean to divide all rational natures (*πᾶσαν τὴν λογικὴν φύσιν*) into four: (1) gods, (2) spirits, (3) heroes, (4) men? And does he mean that while the divine has no converse with us, those who watch over human things are spirits, as Plato said?’

It can, I think, be shown that there is a certain correspondence between Plato’s three orders and Hesiod’s five ages. The equivalence of the highest Platonic class—the philosophers—with Hesiod’s Golden race

<sup>2</sup> A hint of this subterranean nurture may have been taken from Hesiod, *O.D.* 130 (of the silver race): ἀλλ’ ἔκατον μὲν παῖς ἔτεα παρὰ μητέρι κενυῖ Ἐρφέει ἀτάλλων . . .

<sup>3</sup> *de Def. Or. X.*

<sup>4</sup> On Hesiod *O.D.* 121.

who become guardian spirits, has already been noted. To describe each of his remaining two classes, Plato has combined traits borrowed from two of Hesiod's remaining four. These four are: A. *prehistoric*: (1) silver race; (2) bronze race; B. *historic*: (3) heroes; (4) the present iron race, of men. The silver race and the heroes answer to Plato's auxiliaries; and the bronze and iron races to his third class, of husbandmen and craftsmen. The symbolism of the metals guarantees these

equations, except in the case of the heroes, 'the race *divine* of heroic men who are called half-gods,'<sup>1</sup> who fought at Thebes and Ilion. But, even apart from other considerations, their devotion to *war* which in Hesiod is their salient characteristic, connects them with Plato's warrior class. We must leave the further significance of the heroes to be brought out later.

These results may be tabulated as follows:—

HESIOD.	PLATO, <i>REPUBLIC</i> .	CRATYLUS.
GODS ( <i>theol.</i> )	GODS.	GODS.
(1) Golden Race (Guardian-spirits).	Guardians.	Spirits.
(2) Silver Race. (4) Heroes.	Auxiliaries.	Heroes.
(3) Bronze Race. (5) Iron Race.	Craftsmen, etc.	Men.

It would hardly be worth while to point out this correspondence, if it were not for the remarkable lines in which Hesiod describes the destination of the three 'prehistoric' races after death. These lines contain the germs of certain ideas which carry us beyond the mere superficial adoption of the symbolism of the metals.

The Golden Race, as we saw, become 'spirits beneficent, ranging the earth to watch o'er mortal life' (*δαίμονες ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες*).<sup>2</sup> Of the Silver race, whose insolence and atheism bring on them the anger of Zeus, we are surprised to read:

'But when this race was likewise lapped in earth,  
As blessed mortals in the underworld  
Second they rank; yet have they honours too.'

They become *μάκαρες ὀνητοὶ ὑποχθόνιοι*—a phrase which might be taken as a precise description of the 'heroes'<sup>3</sup> of Greek religion—the deified *mortals* worshipped with *chthonian* rites.

The Bronze race was given up to insolence and violence. They slew one another, and

'Went to the dank, chill, gloomy halls of Death,  
Nameless. Mighty they were; but Death's black hand

<sup>1</sup> *ἄνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος, οἱ καλεῖνται Ἡμίθεοι*, O.D. 159.

<sup>2</sup> The extant Orphic poems have little about *δαίμονες*. In the poem to the Hymns (line 32) we read of

*δαίμονας, οὐρανίους τε καὶ εἰναλίους καὶ ἐνὸς οὐρανοῦ καὶ χθονίους καὶ ὑποχθονίους ἢ ἡριφύλοισιν*.

See Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 956.

<sup>3</sup> Hesiod does not use *ἥρωας* in this sense. See Rohde, *Psyche* p. 101.

Clutched, and they left the sunlight for the dark.'

They inhabit Hades, far from the light of the Sun.

#### THE CAVE.

These passages will be found, I think, to throw some light on the symbolism of another Platonic myth—the Cave-myth of *Republic* vii. The *Line* has given us a quadruple division of the objects of knowledge and of the corresponding faculties of the soul. The *Line* is divided first into *νοητόν* and *ὁρατόν*; and each of these parts subdivided proportionally. To speak roughly, the relation of the lower to the higher subdivision in each case is the relation of image to reality. The four faculties or activities of the mind are *νόησις* *διάνοια* *πίστις* *εἰκασία*. Above all is the Idea of the Good, compared to the Sun.

Following upon this, the myth of the *Cave* illustrates the process of education. Four stages can be distinguished: (1) the state of the prisoners in the cave; (2) their deliverance and ascent to the outer air; (3) their looking at shadows and reflections, then at the objects which cast them, and at the stars by night; (4) their contemplation of the Sun and perception that he governs all things and is in a sort the cause of all.

My concern is not with the philosophical or psychological content of this myth, but only with the mythical setting. I shall take the four stages in ascending order.

#### I.—The Prisoners in the Cave.

In the subterranean cavern the prisoners are bound by a chain so that they can see

nothing but shadows on the back wall, cast by models (like marionettes, *θαύματα*) which are carried by men between the prisoners' backs and a fire placed nearer the entrance of the cave.

The idea that the body is a prison is associated, in the context of the passage above translated from the *Cratylus*, with the Orphic *σῶμα σῆμα* :

*Socrates* . . . For some say that the body is the sepulchre (*σῆμα*) of the soul, which is as it were buried in its present state. Again, because the body is the means by which the soul signifies (*σημαίνει*) things, on this account also it is rightly called *σῶμα*. But to my thinking the Orphics gave it this name chiefly with the idea that the soul is paying penalty for whatever offences may require a penalty, and has this enclosure, the semblance of a prison house, for safe-keeping (*τοῦτον δὲ περίβολον ἔχειν, ἵνα σώζῃται, δεσμωτηρίου εἰκόνα*, 400 c). So the body is just what it is called—the *σῶμα* of the soul, until the soul shall have paid its debt. . . .

To the Orphic physical death is an escape from the bodily tomb—a rising from the dead. The idea is familiar from Euripides' famous lines, from the phrase *οἱ ἄνθρωποι νεκροί* applied by Aristophanes' mystics to 'living' men (*Frogs*, 420), and from many other passages. Plato adopts the notion, but gives it a new content. To him also the body of the natural man is a sepulchre and a house of bondage; but, like S. Paul, he realises that the escape from the prison, the resurrection from the body of this death, is not physical death (or not only that), but a 'conversion.'

'From flesh unto spirit man grows  
Even here, on the sod, under sun.'

Unlike S. Paul, however, Plato conceives of the process which begins with conversion—the ascent of man from flesh to spirit—as accomplished by a systematic training of the intelligence. There is no need to dwell at length on the use made of this idea in the *Phaedo*. The body with its senses and lusts hinders the clear perception of truth by the soul. The soul must be delivered from the body 'as from bonds' (67 D) by philosophy, which is a 'rehearsal of death.' The philosopher who has emerged from the Cave, when he thinks of the prisoners' life, will echo Achilles' preference: Better the life of 'serfdom to a landless man' than

any honours in the kingdom of the dead. The bronze race dwell in the chill and gloomy house of Death; the present race of men are fast bound in misery and iron.

The prisoners are employed in 'conjecture' (*εἰκασία*) or 'divination', what shadows are likely to fall on the cave-side, from observation of those which have passed already (*ἀπομαντεύεσθαι τὸ μέλλον ἤξειν* 516 D). The shadows are cast by *θαύματα*, carried by men behind the prisoners' backs. It seems probable that this procession of images carried across the fire-lit cave was suggested by the exhibition of religious symbols (*δαίξαι τὰ ἱερά*) in torch-lit darkness at the Eleusinian ceremony of initiation.<sup>1</sup> The *ἐκπληξίς* caused by these exhibitions,<sup>2</sup> and by the sudden changes from light to darkness<sup>3</sup> has its parallel in the dazzled and distressed vision of the 'converted' prisoners (*Rep.* 515 c). Even the questions put by the priest to the votary at the *παράδοσις τῶν ἱερῶν* may be compared with the questions into the nature of the *θαύματα* put by the 'someone' of *Rep.* 515 D. We shall note further parallels later.

There can be little doubt that the hierophants of the Cave are the Sophists. In a passage which has many points of contact with the *Republic* (*Sophist*, 233 D foll.), the Sophist is called *θανματοποιός* (235 B), *εἰδωλοποιός* (239 D), *ἀπατητικός* (240 D). When we remember the analogy of *Iris* (*εἶρεν* dialectic) daughter of *Thaumas*, with philosophy the child of wonder,<sup>4</sup> we may infer that Plato means that the puzzles of eristic and epideictic sophistry, if they have any educational value, are of use in exciting that preliminary feeling of wonder which first stimulates inquiry. Aristotle must have this in mind when he says:<sup>5</sup> *ἄρχονται γὰρ . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ θαυμάζειν πάντες εἰ οὕτως ἔχει, καθάπερ τῶν θαυμάτων ταῖς αἰτίαις . . .*

The lowest class in the state—the bronze and iron class of husbandmen and craftsmen live on the level of the prisoners in the Cave. They are immersed in the passing shows of Being; their 'customary' virtue is a *σκιαγραφία*. Thus Plato, by combining Hesiod's bronze race who dwell in Hades with his iron race of living men, points the moral that unregenerate 'life' is really death.

<sup>1</sup> The ceremony alluded to, *Phaedrus*, 250 A.

<sup>2</sup> Ael. Arist. *Eleus.* 1. 256.

<sup>3</sup> Dio. Chrys. xii. 387.

<sup>4</sup> Theaet. 155 D.

<sup>5</sup> Met. A. 983 a 12.



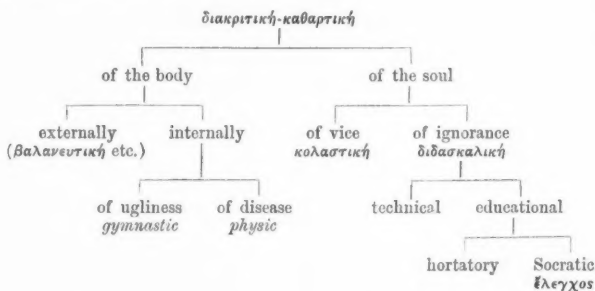
## II.—The Deliverance and Ascent. Purification.

The second stage in the Cave-myth begins with the first step in genuine education.<sup>1</sup> The chain is loosed: the prisoners are turned round to look at the light, which at first distresses their unaccustomed vision. If 'someone' were to tell them that they now saw objects which were nearer reality, and 'compelled them to answer questions' as to the nature of each, they would be puzzled and inclined to believe that the shadows were more real. To correct this delusion they are to be forcibly dragged up the steep and rugged ascent of the Cave towards the sunlight.

The figure of the 'someone' who compels people to answer questions about what things

are is thinly veiled: plainly enough it is Socrates. The interesting point here is the connection of the Socratic *ἐλεγχος* with the idea of purification. To the Orphic it is by purification that the deliverance from the bodily tomb is accomplished. Ceremonial purification preceded the initiatory rite: physical death was a fuller purification from the muddy vesture of decay. The transformation of this notion by Plato is an instructive example of his method.

The identification of the *Cathartic* sophistry analysed in *Sophist* 226 A ff. with the Socratic *ἐλεγχος* is due to Dr. Jackson: it will not, I think, be questioned. The analysis is of great interest. We may tabulate the sixth diæresis of the *Sophist* as follows:



The function of cathartic sophistry is to purify the soul of ignorance and of that false conceit of knowledge which obstructs true knowledge. It is a 'purification in the fullest sense' (ἡ κυριωτάτη τῶν καθάρσεων). The deliverance of the prisoners is, for Plato, not a matter of ceremonial lustration and of the washing of cup and platter: it is a purging of the soul.<sup>2</sup>

We may compare the Pythagorean's description of the preliminary purification of the mind prescribed by the rule of his community.<sup>3</sup>

'It were well to reckon the length of time we have spent in scouring away the stains that were deeply engrained in our breasts, until at last, as the years went by,

we became able to receive the master's words. As the dyers first completely cleanse and use alum upon the garments they are to dye, in order that they may absorb the dye indelibly for ever; so also did that divine man (δαμόνιος) prepare first the souls of those who became lovers of philosophy, that he might never be deceived about one who he hoped would turn out a good man.'

Another passage in the *Cratylus*<sup>4</sup> associates the ideas of deliverance and purification with certain other notions which have an important bearing on our subject. Apollo, says Socrates, is not the Destroyer (ὁ ἀπολλύνων), but his name combines, as no other name could do, his four functions: music, divination, medicine, archery. The process and ceremonies of purification (ἡ καθάρσις καὶ οἱ καθαρμοί), whether (a) by the physician's drugs, or (b) by mantic lustrations, etc., make men pure (a) in body and (b) in soul. The purifying god is the Washer-away (ἀπολούων) and the Deliverer (ἀπολύων). As Washer-away he is physician.

<sup>1</sup> The Socratic method is to be used in that first stage of the higher education which is described at *Rep.* 522 E, to produce *ἀρετή* (524 A) about the union of opposite sensible qualities in the same object.

<sup>2</sup> It is worth noting here that in the *Clouds* Socrates is represented as initiating a novice in the Orphic mysteries. The whole ceremony is travestied (lines 222 ff.). Compare also *Birds* 1555, where Socrates is ψυχαγωγός in a λήμνη ελευτος.

<sup>3</sup> Lysis ap. Iamb. *vit. Pyth.* 78.

<sup>4</sup> 404 E—406 A.

As *diviner*, the object of his art is τὸ ἀπλοῦν, the simple truth: hence he is called in Thessaly Ἀπλοῦν. As *musician*, his name signifies ἡ ὁμοῦ (=α) πόλῃσις περὶ τὸν οὐρανόν, and the harmonious movement of the heavenly bodies. *Music* is derived from μῶσθαι and means *search* and *philosophy*.

Three kinds of purification are here distinguished:

(1) Physical purgation by medicine.  
(2) 'Mantic' lustration, purifying the soul.

(3) Purification by enthusiastic exaltation.

Upon this third kind our attention must now be concentrated.

Our principal authority here is, of course, the classification of the four species of divine (non-morbid) madness in the *Phaedrus* (244). They are (1) *inspired divination* (μαντικὴ ἐνθεος); (2) *the madness of initiation* (μανία τελεστική) which through purifications and initiatory rites (καθαρμοὶ καὶ τελεταί) divines ways of delivering men from diseases and sore afflictions such as existed in certain houses because of ancient wrath; (3) *possession by the Muses* (ἀπὸ Μουσῶν κατοκωχὴ καὶ μανία); and finally (4) *Love* (ἐρωτικὴ μανία)—of which more presently.

In this passage, as above in the *Cratylus*, the close association of medicine for the diseased body with medicine for the guilty soul, of physic with ceremonial purification,<sup>1</sup> and of both with divination, is remarkable. But to the Greek it was more familiar. To the primitive mind the sick body and the sick soul alike require φάρμακα—'medicine' in the magical sense; and the discoverer of the proper medicine is the medicine-man, the diviner. The ideas are associated in the ancient rites of hero-worship. There we find *purification* identified with the placation of the angry ghost; and in his benigner aspect the hero is often a *healer*, man's helper in his direst need. The most famous instance is the ἥρωις ἰατρός at Athens.<sup>2</sup> Whether Lucian's legend of Toxaris be invented or traditional, it was plainly credible that the hero should appear from his tomb in the season of plague and prescribe the magical remedy—the lustration of the streets with wine, to lay the microbe-sprites of disease. The hero's tomb moreover was regularly used as a place of divination in general. Not only in war were the heroes ὑποχθόνιοι φύλακες καὶ σωτῆρες.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare also the analysis of καθαρτική above, in which ἱατρική appears side by side with cathartic sophistry.

<sup>2</sup> Dem. xix. 249.

<sup>3</sup> Aristides, Or. 2. 171.

When the worship of Apollo superseded the primaeval chthonian cult at Delphi and elsewhere, the incoming divinity assumed the mantic functions. The prophetess of Earth's oracle becomes the *Pythia*. Apollo henceforth is the Washer-away and the Deliverer, καθάρσιος and ἱατρόμαντις:

ἱατρόμαντις δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τερασκόπος  
καὶ τοῖσιν ἄλλοις δομάτων καθάρσιος.<sup>4</sup>

The connection of prophetic with poetical and musical inspiration is obviously close.

ἦ σέ γε Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε, Διὸς παῖς, ἦ σέ γ' Ἀπόλλων, says Odysseus to Demodocus (*Od.* 8. 488). Here perhaps Apollo is thought of chiefly as the god of prophecy,<sup>5</sup> the Muse as the source of poetic afflatus: but the two kinds of inspiration are hardly distinguished.

The interesting point is the association of the ideas of madness, enthusiasm, ecstasy, inspiration, with the idea of *purification*. By enthusiasm the soul is lifted out of itself; the loss of *self-possession* is the condition which must precede possession by the divine. This 'distraction' (ἐκπληξίς) comes upon the soul when it beholds the earthly images of unearthly realities. 'For as we said, every human soul has by nature beheld the things that are—else it would not have come into the earthly animal: but not for every soul is it easy to recover the memory of them from things on earth. It is hard for such of them as had then but a brief vision of the things yonder, and for those who after their fall hitherward had the ill-fortune to be turned by evil conversation to unrighteousness and to be in oblivion of the holy things (ἱερῶν) which then they saw. Few indeed remain, in whom the power of memory is sufficient: but these, whenever they see some likeness of the things yonder, are amazed and lose their *self-possession*, though for want of sufficient discernment they know not what this condition means. Now Justice and Temperance and what things else are of worth to souls have no indwelling lustre in their likenesses on earth; and few, when they approach the copies, behold, darkly, through dull organs, the features of the original. Beauty, however, was then visible in its splendour, when in happy company, ourselves attending Zeus, and others following some other divinity, we saw a spectacle of beatific vision and were initiate in the most blessed (as it may lawfully be named) of all revelations. In that rapt worship (ὠργιάζομεν) we were

<sup>4</sup> Aesch. *Eum.* 62.

<sup>5</sup> See Roscher, *Lex.* p. 435a.

whole and untouched of all those evils that were awaiting us in the days to come: whole, likewise, and clear, unterrifying and serene were the mystical appearances (*φάσματα*) whereby we were initiate unto the full revelation, in a blaze of light pure as we also were pure and unencumbered by this tomb which we bear about with us and call a body, being fast bound as a shellfish to his shell.<sup>1</sup>

'They are amazed and lose their self-possession': *ἐκπλήττονται καὶ οὐκέθ' αὐτῶν γίνονται*. This very word *ἐκπλήξις* is used of the state of awe and terrified wonder produced in the initiated novice by the 'mystical appearances' (*φάσματα* above) in the ceremonies at Eleusis; appearances with which Plato here contrasts the 'un-terrifying and serene' manifestations of reality. And, no doubt, in the mysteries the intention was precisely to produce this loss of self-possession, to prepare the soul for becoming *ἐνθεός*, god-possessed, one with the divine.

There is evidence that the Lesser Mysteries at Agrae included dramatic representations of the Rape of Pherephatta and the sufferings of the wandering Demeter, and of the Passion of Dionysus-Zagreus. In these *δρώμενα* may we not see the origin of the tragic *δράμα*, and the explanation of the connection between Tragedy and the religion of Dionysus?<sup>2</sup> If we adopt this suggestion, and further remember that these Lesser Mysteries were related to the Greater Mysteries at Eleusis as *προκάθαρσις καὶ προάγνευσις*,<sup>3</sup> it seems possible that when Aristotle associates *κάθαρσις* with Tragedy, there may be some reference to the 'purifying' effect of the mystical Passion-play. The ancient reader of the *Poetics* would himself have witnessed the spectacle and experienced the emotions of pity and terror which it excited; and the whole proceeding would already be linked in his mind with the idea of purification.

With this in mind we may return for a moment to the *Cave*, to the 'loosening of the prisoners' bonds and the *healing* of their un wisdom' (515 c). The released prisoners are compelled to look up to the light, and dragged up the steep ascent of the Cave, out into the dazzling sunlight. Compare with this Themistius' description<sup>4</sup>

of those initiatory rites (*τελεταί*) which 'in fact, as well as in name, resemble death' (*τελευτᾶν*): 'At first wanderings and toilsome circuits and awful and mysterious passages through a darkness; then before the actual accomplishment (*τέλος*) all the forms of terror, shuddering and quaking and sweat and amazement (*θάμβος*); and thereafter a wondrous light<sup>5</sup> meets him, and pure regions and meadows receive him, with solemn voices and dancings, sacred sounds and holy visions (*ἀκονισμάτων ἱερῶν καὶ φαντασμάτων ἁγίων*); and among these he who is now fully initiate and has become free and is delivered (*ἐλεύθερος καὶ ἄφερος*) goes to and fro with a crown upon his head, joining in the rapt worship (*ὀργάζει*) of companies of men holy and pure (*ὁσίοις καὶ καθαροῖς*). And there he looks down upon the un-initiated and impure multitude of the living (*τὸν ἀμύητον τῶν ζώντων ἀκάθαρτον ὄχλον*), trampling one another and huddled in a great mire and thick mist, abiding in evils through fear of death and disbelief in the good things yonder.'

Aristophanes gives a parallel account. Dionysus, in the *Frogs*, is told that he will come first to an enormous lake (tenanted by the Frogs, who are the worshippers at *Limnae* before the procession to Eleusis); next he will see 'snakes and countless monsters terrible to behold' in the darkness (line 273), then the mire with its wallowing sinners:

'Then you will find a breath about your ears

Of music, and a light about your eyes

Most beautiful—like this—and myrtle groves

And joyous throngs of women and of men  
And clapping of glad hands. . . .'

These are the initiate.<sup>6</sup>

It is plain, I think, that in the *Cave*-myth the ceremonies of initiation are in Plato's mind and suggest the imagery. What is more important is the meaning of the symbolism. We are to understand that education in the highest sense is an initiation; it involves deliverance from the prison of the senses, a vision purified to apprehend truth, a death into life, an exaltation of man's spirit to unity with the divine.

#### *Eros and Heros.*

We must now return to the fourth kind of divine madness—Eros. The *Cratylus*

<sup>1</sup> *Phaedrus*, 249 B.

<sup>2</sup> See Miss J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. ad Aristoph. *Plut.* 845.

<sup>4</sup> Them. *περί ψυχῆς* ap. Stob. *Flor.* 120, 28.

<sup>5</sup> The *ἀνγὴ καθαρά* of *Phaedr.* 250 c.

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### III.—*θεωρία* and *εὐδαιμονία*.

We must now say something of *identification with the divine*, which again is an idea borrowed by Plato from orgiastic religion and adapted to his own philosophic purposes.

Outside the Cave, in the light of heaven, the novices train their unaccustomed sight for 'looking upward' by viewing, first, shadows and reflections in water of men and other objects; then these objects themselves, and the moon and stars in the heavens by night. Lastly they contemplate the Sun himself as he is in his own place, and consider how he governs the seasons and the years and all things visible, and is in a sort the cause of all.



The stars by night are evidently the ideas; the Sun is the supreme Idea of the Good, which is 'the cause of knowledge and of truth' (508 E). That the Sun was a symbol of peculiar significance to the initiate is well known from many passages in literature.<sup>1</sup> 'Upon them shines the might of the Sun, while here below it is night' (Pindar, *Frag.* 95, Böckh); 'A sun they know which is not ours, not ours the stars they see' (Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 641). The mystics in the *Frogs* end their series of songs with the words:

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(ἀνθρώπινα φρονεῖν) or a mortal to those of a mortal; but we ought so far as possible to achieve immortality (ἀθανατίζειν) and do all we can to live according to the highest element in us.<sup>1</sup>

‘For into the company of the Gods it may not be that any should come, that hath not loved wisdom and knowledge and departed in perfect purity.’<sup>2</sup>

Plutarch,<sup>3</sup> also, has a fine passage on the ascent of man to the divine: ‘Many improbable legends are told’ of the translation of mortal bodies ‘by those who would deify what is mortal in nature. It is indeed impious and illiberal altogether to reject the divinity of virtue; yet to confound earth with heaven is ignorant. Let us then cling to the truth and admit, in Pindar’s words, that the body of everything ‘follows the prevailing might of Death, but something living is left, an image of eternity’; for that alone is from the gods. Thence it comes, and thither it rises upward—not with the body, but precisely when it is delivered and severed from the body and becomes altogether pure (καθαρόν) and incorporeal and holy (ἁγνόν). This is the ‘dry soul’ which Heraclitus says is best, sundering the body like the lightning which flies from a cloud: but the soul which is weighted with bodily admixture, like a heavy and dank vapour, is hard to kindle and to convey upwards. There is, then, no occasion, against nature, to send the bodies of the good to heaven with their souls; but we must think that the virtues, the souls, by nature and divine justice, rise from men to heroes, and from heroes to spirits, and at last, if as in the mysteries they be perfectly cleansed and consecrated (τέλειον καθαρῶσι καὶ ὁσιωθῶσι), shaking off all mortal passions, then they attain the fairest and final bliss and ascend from spirits to gods.’<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, *Eth.* K. 7 1177<sup>b</sup> 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Phaedo* 82 B. Compare the derivations of Zeus, Kronos, Ouranos, *Orac.* 396: Zeus, the ruler and king of all is δι’ ἐν ζῆν (Δία Ζῆνα) διὰ παντί τοις ζῴοις ἐπάσχει, his father is a great understanding (διάνοια); his name means τὸν καθαρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀσώματος τοῦ νοῦ. He is son of Ouranos, ἡ φύσις ἡ δρώσα τὰ ἔνα, whence αἱ μετεωρόλογοι say they acquire τὸν καθαρὸν νοῦν. The allegory is transparent: the wisdom that looks upward begets pure reason, the source of all life. I cannot agree with Lobeck (*Aglaoph.* 510 [f]) that Plato’s intention is merely derisive.

<sup>3</sup> *vit. Rom.* 28.

<sup>4</sup> (Zeller, *Phil. d. Gr.* iii 2. p. 192, ed. 4. 1903). For Plutarch’s demonology see *de Is. et Os.* xxv–xxvi. Compare also *de Def. Orac.* x, where after the passage already quoted (p. 434 note 3) he continues: ‘But others hold an analogous transformation for bodies and for souls. (For bodies) out of earth comes water, out of water air, and out of air fire is seen

#### THE RULE OF THE PHILOSOPHERS.

Plato is well aware that it will be hard to induce the philosopher who has reached this ἐκπαιδεία to go down again into the Cave and ‘take care of’ (ἐπιμελεῖσθαι) his fellows. And yet ‘states will never have rest from evils until the philosophers rule in them.’<sup>5</sup> He who has been θεός must descend and become φύλαξ, instead of yielding to the desire ἄνω αἰεὶ διατρίβειν.

These words are echoed in a curious passage in Plutarch.<sup>6</sup> After describing how the δαίμονες (souls of the departed) inhabit the hollows in the Moon’s face, he continues:

‘But the Spirits do not always pass their time in the Moon (οὐκ αἰεὶ διατρίβουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ). They come down to earth to take charge (ἐπιμελησόμενοι) of oracles; and they assist at the worship of the highest rites of initiation; and become watchers (φύλακες) and punishers of unrighteous deeds, and preservers (σωτῆρες) in war, and they shine over the sea. If they do these offices ill, whether in anger or with unrighteous partiality, they pay the penalty; for they are thrust down again to earth and compact (read συμπληγνόμενοι) with human bodies. But to that better sort the people of Cronos said that they themselves belonged, together with in former times the Idaean Dactyli of Crete, and the Corybants in Phrygia, and the Trophoniads in Lebadeia, and countless others in many parts of the world, whose rites, functions (ῥυαί), and titles yet remain. But the operative functions of some cease, who win the highest translation into another region. Some win it earlier, some later, when the Reason is separated from the soul. This separation is accomplished by love of the solar image (τῆς περὶ τὸν ἥλιον εἰκόνας), through which shines that which is Desired and Beautiful and Divine and Blessed, whereunto every nature yearns diversely after its kind.’

The condition of the δαίμονες is not wholly divine: their reason is not yet commingled, the essence being carried upwards. Similarly the better souls take their transformation from men into heroes, from heroes into spirits; and from spirits a few, after long time, being altogether purified through virtue, participate in divinity: ‘but others cannot master themselves, but enter again into mortal bodies, and have a dim and murky life, like vapours’. See also the experiences of Timarchus, a contemporary of Socrates, in the Cave of Trophion (Plut. *de gen. Socr.* xxii). Whatever view we take of this passage, it is a most important commentary on the vision of Er.

<sup>5</sup> *Rep.* 487 E.

<sup>6</sup> *de fac. in orbe Lun.* 30.



pletely separated from soul. The mention of 'the people of Cronos' (οἱ περὶ τὸν Κρόνον ὄντες) recalls a passage in the *Laws* (IV. 713 c):

'A report, then, has come down to us concerning the blessed life of that age, how it had everything in spontaneous abundance; and the reason given is something of this sort. It would appear that Cronos perceived the truth we have just laid down, that no human being is capable of a general and absolute control over human life without becoming full of insolence and injustice. So, with this truth in mind, he set up in that age as kings and rulers over our cities, not men, but beings of a higher sort and a more divine, namely Spirits: just as we now do with flocks of sheep and all the tame kinds of animals; we do not in their case make an ox ruler over oxen, or a goat ruler over goats, but we are lords over them ourselves, being a higher race than they. In the same way, then, the God out of his love for mankind set over us in that age a higher race than we, the Spirits, who with no less comfort to us than to themselves took care of us, bringing peace and reverence and good government and justice without stint, and so made the generations of mankind united and happy. Now this legend contains a true meaning for us even to-day, that in *whatsoever city the ruler is not a god but some mortal, for them is no escape from evil and trouble*,<sup>1</sup> but we ought, it implies, by all means to imitate the life which it describes in the age of Cronos, and in all the public and private ordinance of house and state to obey *whatever element of immortality is in us, and give the name of Law to the disposition of Reason*.'

In the state, as in the individual, Reason is to be the guiding genius, because it is divine. The *Timaeus*<sup>2</sup> says: 'As to the supreme form of soul that is within us, we must believe that God has given it to each of us as a guiding genius (δαίμων)—even that which we say, and say truly, dwells in the summit of our body and raises us from earth towards our celestial affinity, seeing we are of no earthly, but of heavenly growth: since to heaven, whence in the beginning was the birth of our soul, the diviner part attaches the head or root of us, and makes our whole body upright.' The man who is busied with appetites and ambi-

tions will become 'utterly mortal'; but he who has loved learning and true wisdom has reached such immortality as man may have; he has cherished his divine part and his guardian spirit, and must be happy (εὐδαίμων) above all.

In the *Ehædrus* the souls which sink to earth under the encumbrance of mortality are classified in nine degrees, according to the measure of their participation in the vision of truth:

- |       |  |
|-------|--|
| I.—   | (1) φιλόσοφος, φιλόκαλος, μουσικός<br>καὶ ἐρωτικός |
| II.—  | (2) βασιλεὺς ἔννομος, πολεμικός,<br>ἀρχικός        |
|       | (3) πολιτικός, οἰκονομικός, χρημα-<br>τιστικός     |
| III.— | (4) φιλόπονος γυμναστικός, ἱατρικός                |
|       | (5) μαντικός, τελεστικός                           |
|       | (6) ποιητικός, μιμητικός                           |
| IV.—  | (7) δημιουργικός, γεωργικός                        |
|       | (8) σοφιστικός, δημοτικός                          |
|       | (9) τυραννικός                                     |

I venture to suggest a grouping of these nine heads under four classes roughly answering to the four orders θεοὶ δαίμονες ἥρωες ἄνθρωποι. The first class needs no comment. The second contains the *guardian* and the *ruler* in all his forms. In the third the notion of purification runs through all the three subdivisions. It contains three of the four species of divine madness; *ἔρως* alone being raised to the highest class. The *μιμητικός*, the most objectionable kind of poet, links this class with the fourth, which contains that other *μιμητικός*, the sophist, ranked below the honest craftsman and husbandman.

#### THE MYTH IN THE *Politicus*.

With these ideas before us, it may be worth while to take account of the light they throw on the strange myth of the *Politicus*. The *statesman* has been traced down the chain of a long *diaeresis* which has led us to *ἀνθρωπονομική*, the rule of featherless bipeds. To mark off the *βασιλεὺς* from other *ἀνθρωπονόμοι* we resort to myth.

Formerly the sun and the other stars rose in the west and set in the east. But at the strife of Atreus and Thyestes, the god testifying to Atreus, reversed this order. We also hear of a reign of Cronos, and of an earth-born race of men. These legends arise out of the same occurrence, but the reason has been forgotten.

The Universe, an intelligent animal, has a body, and therefore cannot, like things

<sup>1</sup> The very turn of the phrase echoes *Rep.* 487 E οὐ πρότερον κακῶν παύσονται αἱ πόλεις πρὶν ἢ ἐν αὐταῖς οἱ φιλόσοφοι ἄρξωσιν, with significant substitution of θεός for φιλόσοφος.

<sup>2</sup> 90 A. trans. Archer-Hind.

purely divine, abide in the same stay. Hence this reversal of its revolution (*ἀνακύκλησις*). It is not due to two gods with opposite intentions;<sup>1</sup> but in the one case the universe is 'conducted by a divine cause external to itself, gaining life and renewed immortality from the artificer'; in the other, it is released, and reverts by its own motion through countless revolutions.

Such a reversal must have been attended by great destruction of life; but the most marvellous result is the reversal of the course of life itself. Men grew younger instead of older. Birth was a return out of the earth: the dead revived and rising up were called earth-born.

To this former order belongs the Age of Cronos with its spontaneous generation of the fruits of earth. The revolution itself was controlled by the care of God (*ἐπιμελόμενος ὁ θεός*), and animals, after their kinds, were allotted to a sort of divine shepherds, spirits, of whom each was absolute lord over his flock, so that there was no fighting or preying of one upon another. This explains the legend about the spontaneous subsistence of mankind. God himself was their presiding shepherd, as man, the diviner animal, shepherds the lower creatures. They had neither politics, nor wives and children; all came back to life out of the earth, remembering nothing of their former state. Earth gave them fruits spontaneously. They lived naked and houseless, sleeping on soft grass in temperate seasons.

Were they happier than we of the reign of Zeus? Yes, if they used their leisure in 'philosophy,' enquiring of every nature, human and animal, what its distinguishing function is, and so gathering wisdom. No, if filled with meat and drink, they only discoursed fables (*μῦθοι*), as legend reports of them.

Here I may pause for comment. We know now what is implied by the reign of spirits. This description of the Golden Age is plainly an allegory of the Platonic state of society. (No doubt Plato realised that the revolution needed to set that society going was little less than a reversal of the whole order of Creation.) It is not then fanciful to connect the account of life in the Golden Age with the imagery of the *Cave*.

We may note first the strange idea of birth as resurrection out of the earth.<sup>2</sup> We

have seen what uses Plato makes (*Rep.* 414 D) of the notion, inculcated by myth, that the citizens of the ideal state, while they dreamed they were being educated, were really being 'formed and nurtured, as all their arms and other equipment were forged, in the earth beneath.' Only when they are wrought to perfection (*παντελῶς ἐξεργασμένοι*) does their Mother send them up into the light.

The earliest stage of education takes place *inside the Cave*. The emergence from the underworld obscurity begins where that stage of education ends. The opening of the eye of the soul to upper-world reality is the beginning of a new life, compared with which the old life in the kingdom of shadows seems like death.

We can now interpret the last paragraph of the above summary. Two possibilities are suggested as to the occupation of the earth-born:

(1) If, as legend relates, they spent their lives filled with meat and drink, discoursing fables, their state was not gracious.

We think at once of the primitive society described in *Rep.* II. 372, the City of Pigs, where men spend their lives 'in banqueting and drinking, crowned with garlands and hymning the gods.' This will not make a happy state (420 E). We remember also the sensual paradise offered by religion to the pious, the *μέθη αἰώνιος* of Hades (363 D). The state of innocence, if this be all, is really the state of the prisoners in the *Cave*, bound in the chain of bodily senses and lusts.

(2) But the earth-born may have been better employed. They may have spent their leisure in 'philosophy,' gathering wisdom from enquiry into the distinguishing function of every nature.

If the age of Cronos possessed a Socrates, the earth-born may have been freed from their chain and turned towards the light by 'someone' who 'compelled them to answer questions concerning the nature of each of the objects they saw.'

Finally, the emergence from the *Cave* is not only a birth, but a *resurrection from the dead*. A resurrection, because the world above is the true home of the soul—the imperial palace whence it came. Education is recollection of lost knowledge, lost when the soul died into what we call life: *ἐκ γῆς ἀνεβιώσκοντο πάντες οὐδὲν μνημένοι τῶν πρόσθεν*, (*Pol.* 272 A).

drawn my attention to his interesting discussion of this myth in his edition of the *Republic*, vol. ii. pp. 295 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Like the *φιλία* and *νεῖκος* of Empedocles.

<sup>2</sup> Plato rarely invents the imagery of his myths. Even this notion of living backwards will be found in a curious legend preserved by Theopompus, frag. 76. Since I wrote this Dr. Adam has kindly

We may now return to the *myth*, which goes on to describe the present reign of Zeus:

When the earth-born race was exhausted, each soul having accomplished all its appointed births, the pilot let go the helm, the reversal came, and the universe turned back by its 'destined and innate impulse' (272 ε). The gods who had provincial authority under the Highest Spirit ceased from their watching. Earthquakes followed, and destruction of life. Then the world settled down into its course, 'remembering the instructions of its creator and father.' But its corporeal admixture gradually obliterates this memory and is the cause of disorder. As forgetfulness grows upon it, its living creatures likewise show more *ἀναρμοσσία*, and it goes nigh destruction. The creator perceiving its dissolution imminent, lest it 'sink into the infinite region of unlikeness,' resumes the helm and restores it to order, making it exempt from age and death. That is the end of all (273 ε).

During this reign of Zeus, mankind, orphaned of their shepherding spirit, were left weak and unguarded (*ἀφύλακτοι*).

Ignorant of arts, they had to be rescued by the divine gifts, of fire, of handicrafts, of seeds and plants. Then the care of the gods was withdrawn, and men were left to care for themselves, as the world was left to its own guidance (274 δ).

The myth is then applied to correct the foregoing diaeresis. The essence of all kingship is the care (*ἐπιμέλεια*) of human society. We ought to have distinguished the divine ruler of the age of Cronos from the human, of the age of Zeus. The figure of the true shepherd king surpasses the measure of mortal governors.

By way of moral, it is enough to repeat the words above quoted from the *Laws*: 'Now this legend contains a true meaning for us even to-day, that in whatsoever city the ruler is not a god but some mortal, for them there is no escape from evil and trouble; but we ought, it implies, by all means to imitate the life which it describes in the age of Cronos, and in all the public and private ordinance of house and state to obey whatever element of immortality is in us, and give the name of Law to the disposition of Reason.'

F. M. CORNFORD.

#### POLYBIUS' CONCEPTION OF *τύχη*.

I go back from the consideration of Caesar's conception of *Fortuna* (*Classical Review*, April 1903), to trace the history of the same idea at Rome during the period of revolution which came to an end with Caesar. Of the history and meaning of the cult of *Fortuna* I have said something in my *Roman Festivals* (pp. 161 foll.), and much more will be found in works there cited. But the idea of *Fortuna* as a cosmic influence is quite distinct from that of the cult, or only occasionally touches it in poetry, as e.g. in Horace *Od.* I. 35; it is a Greek rather than a Roman idea, in so far at least as the Greeks reasoned upon a feeling which is the common property of mankind, while the Romans, so far as we know, did not do so until they came under Greek influence. The Greeks discussed this idea in the course of philosophical enquiry; the Romans, *more suo*, left it in the hands of a priestly aristocracy, which from time to time founded new cults of *Fortuna* under new cult-titles. But in the second century B.C. the Greek speculations about *τύχη* began to penetrate the

educated Roman mind, and the cults ceased to be of any real significance until they were revived by Augustus and used for Imperial purposes. Hence it is of especial interest to get some idea of the conception of *Fortuna* held by a man like Polybius in the second century B.C.—a Greek long resident at Rome, intimate with the leading Romans of his time, a practical man and no professed philosopher, and one whose particular delight it was to search out in the scientific spirit the causes of the stormy and startling events of which he wrote. The Roman who opened Polybius' work would find himself confronted with new ideas of *Fortuna* in the first four chapters of the first book: the circle of his Roman friends would absorb and disseminate these ideas; and his Greek friend Panaetius, and later Posidonius and Cicero, kept the discussion alive for nearly a century. At present I must confine myself to Polybius himself.

The subject is no new one, and has been touched upon of recent years more especially by Hirzel in an excursus to his *Untersuchungen*.

zu Cicero's *Philosophischen Schriften* (Th. ii. p. 848, foll.), and by R. v. Scala in his *Studien des Polybios* (i. p. 159, foll.). Both these discussions I have found very helpful; others also in a less degree which I collected when studying Polybios many years ago.<sup>1</sup>

Two preliminary observations may clear the ground. 1. Polybios does not seem to regard *τύχη* as a deity either Greek or Roman. In what remains of his work there is no allusion to the local *Fortunae* of Rome and Italy, though within his own period three temples were dedicated to the goddess at Rome, one of them by the father of his intimate friend Scipio. Nor does he seem to mention the numerous city *Tychae* of the Alexandrian age, of which Prof. P. Gardner has written in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. ix. pp. 73 foll. This is characteristic of a man whose ideas of history and religion were cosmopolitan, and who did not greatly interest himself in the local cults and practices of the City-states of his day. 2. Polybios did not belong exclusively to any school of philosophy, but is best interpreted by his own writings. Undoubtedly he comes near to the Stoics in some points, and as we shall see, in the one under discussion; but he is not to be considered as in any way applying Stoic principles to history. His idea of *τύχη* is probably an inheritance from the common thought of the Greeks, as well as from their literature and philosophy,—from Euripides as much as from Aristotle, and from Menander as well as from Demetrius of Phalerum.<sup>2</sup>

Undoubtedly Polybios uses this common and handy word in a variety of senses according to his momentary need or mood: yet there is no difficulty in bringing all or nearly all of these under one or other of two heads.

I. The first of these is best exemplified in the familiar fourth chapter of Bk. I. He has just been telling us (as it will be important to recall presently) that his object in writing his history is to explain how, i.e., with what forces and designs, the Romans were able to make themselves masters of the world: he then goes on (I. 4. 1):

τό γὰρ τῆς ἡμετέρας πραγματείας ἴδιον καὶ τὸ θαυμασίον τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καιρῶν τοῦτό ἐστιν

<sup>1</sup> La Roche, *Charakteristik des Polybios*, 1857; Markhauser, *Der Geschichtschreiber Polybios*, 1858; Pichler, *Polybios' Leben*, &c., 1860. Cf. also Nitzsch, *Polybios*, p. 35 foll.

<sup>2</sup> Demetrius' book on *τύχη* is quoted by Polyb. xxv. 21. Scala (p. 159 foll.) seems to me to exaggerate the importance of this single reference.

ὅτι, καθάπερ ἡ τύχη σχεδὸν ἅπαντα τὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης πράγματα πρὸς ἓν ἐκλινε μέρος καὶ πάντα νεύειν ἠνάγκασε πρὸς ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν σκοπόν, οὕτως καὶ [δαί] διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ὑπὸ μίαν σύνοψιν ἀγαγεῖν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τὸν χειρισμὸν τῆς τύχης, ᾧ κέχρηται πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων συντέλειαν.

Then, after saying that this strange work of *τύχη* was what set him upon writing history, as well as the fact that no one had yet attempted the task he was undertaking, he proceeds:

νῦν δ' ὁρῶν τοῖς μὲν κατὰ μέρος πολέμοις καὶ τινας τῶν ἅμα τούτοις πράξεων καὶ πλείους πραγματενομένων, τὴν δὲ καθόλου καὶ συλλήβδην οἰκονομίαν τῶν γεγονότων, πότε καὶ πόθεν ὠρμήθη καὶ πῶς ἔσχε τὴν συντέλειαν, ταύτην οὐδ' ἐπιβαλλόμενον οἰδένα βασανίζειν, ὅσον γε καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι, παντέλως ὑπέλαβον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸ μὴ παραλιπεῖν μηδ' ἐᾶσαι παρελθεῖν ἀνεπιστάτως τὸ κάλλιστον ἅμα καὶ ὠφελιμώτατον ἐπιτήδευμα τῆς τύχης: πολλὰ γὰρ αὕτη καινοποιούσα, καὶ συνεχῶς ἐναγωνιζομένη τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίοις, οὐδέπω τοιόνδ' ἀπλῶς οὔτ' ἐργάσατο ἔργον οὔτ' ἠγωνίσαστο ἀγώνισμα οἷον τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς.

Here it is obvious that by *τύχη* Polybios does not mean Chance in our sense of the word: his use of the words *σκοπός*, *οἰκονομία*, *συντέλεια*, absolutely forbids such a conclusion. *Τύχη* is here an agent or power working to a definite end. No caprice is suggested in the work of this power: the word *καινοποιούσα* need not imply this, but only that this power often startles men by the way it works. The *τύχη* of this chapter is in fact much the same conception as the *φύσις* of Bk. VI, which the historian invokes when in a more strictly scientific mood to explain the regular *ἀνακύκλωσις* of political constitutions. The following passages will show this clearly:

VI. 4. 11: γνοίη δ' ἂν τις σαφέστατα περὶ τούτων, ὥς ἀληθῶς ἐστὶν οἷα δὴ νῦν εἶπον, ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκάστων κατὰ φύσιν ἀρχὰς καὶ γενέσεις καὶ μεταβολὰς ἐπιστήσας, κ.τ.λ.

VI. 9. 10: Αὕτη πολιτειῶν ἀνακύκλωσις, αὕτη φύσεως οἰκονομία, καθ' ἣν μεταβάλλει καὶ μεθίσταται καὶ πάλιν εἰς αὐτὰ καταντᾷ τὰ κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας.

VI. 57. 1: Ὅτι μὲν οὖν πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν ἐπόκειται φθορὰ καὶ μεταβολή, σχεδὸν οὐ προσδεῖ λόγων: ἱκανὴ γὰρ ἡ τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκη παραστήσαι τὴν τοιαύτην πίστιν, δυνεὶ δὲ τρόπων ὄντων καθ' οὓς φθείρεσθαι πέφυκε πᾶν γένος πολιτείας, τοῦ μὲν ἔξωθεν τοῦ δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς φυομένου, κ.τ.λ.



The only reason, as it seems to me, why two different words are chosen to express much the same idea, is that the attitude of Polybius' mind both to his subject-matter and to his readers is slightly different in the two books (*i.e.* in the first chapters of Bks. I and VI respectively). In Bk. VI he is expounding what he believes to be a regularly recurring process in political history, the very recurrence of which proves it to be based on a law of nature; hence the use of the word *φύσις*. In Bk. I he is not expounding, but stating a problem, and one which cannot be explained as natural by the recurrence of phenomena, nor indeed explained at all except in the course of his history, of which the main object is this very explanation. Instead therefore of assuming at once that the growth of the Roman dominion is the result of natural law (though it is quite plain that he believes it to be so) he prefers to use a word which had been only too familiar to the Greek mind since the time of Alexander, and to ascribe the startling phenomena of which he is to treat to *τύχη*. Yet the idea at the bottom of his mind in each case is much the same. It is not far removed from the Stoic idea of Nature, Fate, *ἡ ἐιμαρμένη*,<sup>1</sup> &c.; but as used by a historian it must not be pressed to a philosophical dogma. It may be paralleled by the way in which some modern historians use the word Evolution, which they find convenient to express the natural course of events, without meaning anything very definite by it; and it may be worth noting that Polybius' conviction that he was the first scientific historian, and the rather wearisome persistence with which he impresses this upon his readers, find their counterparts in the recent tendency of historical writing. The choice of the word *τύχη* need not startle us; apart from the vulgar meaning of mere chance or accident, from Aristotle downwards it had been used to express that which happens in the natural order of things, without any ascription to it of wantonness or caprice: thus Torstrik (Hermes IX, on Aristotle Phys. B. 2-4) notes that the English word 'happen' comes nearer to the Greek meaning of *τύχη* than the German Zufall or any modern European word.

In this wide sense both *τύχη* and *φύσις* can of course include human agency: the human will is free, and the natural course

<sup>1</sup> In xxxvii. 9-1 (Hultsch) *τύχη* and *ἐιμαρμένη* occur together in almost the same sense.

of events in human life and experience is affected and can be explained by Man's wisdom, foresight, and energy, or on the other hand by the absence of those qualities in states or individuals. This is abundantly clear from Polybius' general view of history. Thus in I. 35, drawing the moral from the Carthaginian victory over Regulus, he points out the value of history as showing, to use the language of Caesar, 'fortunam esse industria sublevandam'; there is no position of affairs so bad that human activity may not remedy it. So in II. 35, commenting on the qualities that enabled Rome to save Italy from the Gauls in 222 B.C., he says that it is the duty of the historian to record *τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπεισόδια τῆς τύχης*, so that in future no undue fear need be felt by civilised peoples of barbarian invasions. Cp. also III. 31 ad fin: V. 75: and the very remarkable passage in XXXVII. 9, to which I shall return, where he insists that the depopulation of Greece might be stayed by human endeavour and legislation. Again in X. 9. 2, and previously in chs. 5 and 7 of the same book, he emphasises the part played by the character and genius of Scipio in bringing about the ultimate defeat of Carthage in the 2nd Punic war, and thus affecting the whole course of history; just as in I. 63 he has already said that the Roman dominion was the result of the Roman character and discipline. Man is subject no doubt to the *οἰκονομία τῆς φύσεως*; but he is himself an important factor in it.

II. The citation of these last passages brings me to the second part of the subject, and the other use of the word *τύχη* which is common in Polybius; for in nearly all of them it will be found that he contrasts his own view with the ascription of events to *τύχη* in the narrower sense of chance or accident, which was no doubt the sense in which it was ordinarily used by the unphilosophical Greek of his day. Cp. I. 63-9:

ἐξ ὧν δῆλον τὸ προτεθέν ἡμῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὡς οὐ τύχη Ῥωμαῖοι καθάπερ ἔνιοι δοκοῦσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἷδ' αὐτομάτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν εἰκότως, ἐν τοιοῦτοις καὶ τηλικούτοις πράγμασιν ἑνασκήσαντες, οὐ μόνον ἐπεβάλοντο τῇ τῶν ὀλων ἡγεμονίᾳ καὶ δυναστείᾳ τολμηρώς, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθίκοντο τῆς προθέσεως.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Scala (p. 183, note) suggests that this passage could not have been written at the same time as I. 4, and that it must have been interpolated later by Polybius himself. It is true that in the two passages *τύχη* is used in two different senses; and that what

So also in X. 9, 2 he writes thus of the popular view of Scipio Africanus:

Τούτοις δὲ τοῖς ἐκλογισμοῖς ὁμολογοῦντες οἱ συγγραφεῖς, ὅταν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος ἔλθωσι τῆς πράξεως, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως οὐκ εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν τοῦτον πρόνοιαν, εἰς δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὴν τύχην ἀναφέρουσι τὸ γεγονός κατ' ὁρῶμα, κ.τ.λ.

Once more, in a very remarkable fragment about the degeneracy and depopulation of Greece (XXXVII, 9) he writes as if he were almost himself willing to attribute them to *τύχη* or the gods.

Ἐγὼ δέ, φησὶν ὁ Πολύβιος, ἐπιτιμῶν τοῖς τὴν τύχην καὶ τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἐπιγράφουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις καὶ τὰς κατ' ἰδίαν περιπετείας, νῦν βούλομαι περὶ τοῦτον τοῦ μέρους διαστείλασθαι καθ' ὅσον ὁ τῆς πραγματικῆς ιστορίας ἐπιδέχεται τρόπος. ὢν μὲν νῆ Δι' ἀδύνατον ἢ δυσχερὲς τὰς αἰτίας καταλαβεῖν ἄνθρωπον ὄντα, περὶ τούτων ἴσως ἂν τις ἀπορῶν ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν τὴν ἀναφορὰν ποιοῖτο καὶ τὴν τύχην, κ.τ.λ.

This chapter is extremely interesting as showing how nearly *τύχη*, when used in this sense, approaches to the idea of a divine interposition in the ordinary affairs of the world. Still more striking in the same way is the famous chapter about Philip of Macedon (XXIII, 10), where *τύχη* comes very near being personified as a goddess, and as capable of inflicting punishment, like Nemesis.

καθάπερ γὰρ ἂν εἰ δίκην ἡ τύχη βουλομένη λαβεῖν ἐν καιρῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ πάντων τῶν ἀσεβημάτων καὶ παρανομημάτων ὧν εἰργάσατο κατὰ τὸν βίον, τότε παρέστησε τινὰς ἐννῦς καὶ ποιῦς καὶ προστροπαίους τῶν δι' ἐκείνον ἡττηχότων, οἱ συνόντες αὐτῷ καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν τοιαύτας ἔλαβον παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμωρίας, κ.τ.λ.

That Polybius had the Nemesis of Greek tragedy in his mind when he wrote this chapter seems clear from §§ 12 and 16. He was in fact in a more emotional vein than was usual with him; and as Hirzel rightly observes (p. 864) in criticism of Markhauser, he needs to be here read with great discrimination. With this passage may be aptly compared XV. 20, in which he says that it is not unreasonable to ascribe to *τύχη* the punishment of Philip and Antiochus for their conspiracy against the infant Ptolemy Epiphanes, B.C. 204, especially as men are only too apt to blame her in the

in I. 4 is ascribed to the agency of *τύχη* is in I. 63 denied to it. But a Greek reader would at once have caught his meaning in each passage, and have failed to see any real contradiction in the two.

ordinary affairs of life. To this same conception of *τύχη* he reverts even at the very end of his history, and again in an emotional mood (XXXIX. 19):

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς καταπράξαντες ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπανήλθομεν, ὥσανεϊ κεφάλαιά τινα τῶν προπεπολιτευμένων κατεργασμένοι, χάριν ἀξίαν τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εἰνοίας. διὸ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχὰς ποιούμεθα τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τῆς ζωῆς ἐν τοῖτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων διαμείναι, θεωροῦντες τὴν τύχην ὡς ἔστιν ἀγαθὴ φθονῆσαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἰσχυρὴν καθ' ὃ τις ἂν δοκῇ μάλιστα μακαρίζεσθαι καὶ κατορθοῦν ἐν τῷ βίῳ.

It is interesting to find this more popular or conventional view of *τύχη* deliberately introduced by Polybius in the imaginary conversation (XV. 6) between two men of affairs, Hannibal and Scipio, before the battle of Zama: here however as in VIII. 22. 10 *τύχη* is capricious, as so often in later writers, and with v. Scala we may compare Horace's 'Fortuna . . . ludum insolentem ludere pertinax' (Od. III. 29. 50):

“ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἑτοιμός εἰμι τῷ πείραν εἰληφέναι δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς εὐμετάθετός ἐστιν ἡ τύχη καὶ παρὰ μικρὸν εἰς ἑκάτερα ποιεῖ μεγάλας ῥοπὰς, καθάπερ εἰ νηπίους παισὶ χρωμένη· σὲ δ' ἀγωνιώ, Πλόπλιε, λίαν,” ἔφη “καὶ διὰ τὸ νέον εἶναι κομιδῇ καὶ διὰ τὸ πάντα σοὶ κατὰ λόγον κεχωρηκέναι καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην καὶ μηδέπω μέχρι γε τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὴν τῆς τύχης ἐμπεπτοκέναι παλιρρόμην, μή ποτε οὐ πεισθῆς διὰ ταῦτα τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις, καίπερ οὐσι πιστοῖς.”

Lastly, it is hardly necessary to note that Polybius, like all writers of his own and the following period, occasionally uses not only *τύχη*, but *θεός τις*, or τὸ δαιμόνιον (I. 84. 10) in the ordinary course of historical narrative where sudden chances, providential escapes, etc., are described: thus in XI. 24. 8 (Scipio's victory over Hasdrubal) he says that unless some god had intervened to save them, i.e., by a storm, the Carthaginians would have been driven even from their camp and destroyed. But in such passages he is merely using conventional language, which must not be taken as reflecting any philosophical or theological views of his. We may be sure that Polybius did not really believe in capricious Divine interference, in Nemesis, or in blind chance; but in certain moods or in ordinary narrative he falls into the popular vein and vocabulary,—*λίαν ἐικότως*.

But this is most often the case where he is unable to explain events by the light of

his scientific view of causation; and here perhaps we may find a common ground for the two principal applications of the word  $\tauύχη$  which we find in his writings.  $\tauύχη$  may mean the natural order and development of human affairs, where we cannot explain it scientifically, as in I. 4, while the same idea is better expressed by  $φύσις$  where we can obtain more satisfactory data for determining the nature of the causation. But  $\tauύχη$  may also be used to indicate the common changes and chances of this mortal life, where it is hopeless, and perhaps needless, to attempt to search out there causes. In the former case the word is used in a broad and quasi-philosophical sense, in the latter in a conventional and popular one: yet at the bottom of both usages there lies the idea of a limit to our knowledge of causation, which must be somehow expressed so as to be understood by the general Greek reader. Where he cannot be scientific in terminology, he does not disdain to be popular. Whether he really believed in a Divine government of the world is hard to say; but it is certain that he did not trouble himself about it where he could

dispense with it in his expositions. In ordinary chance and accident he naturally believed (if belief is the right word) like every one else; but he would leave as little space for it as possible in explaining historical events, and would have men leave as little in regulating their daily conduct. The passage already quoted from the original in the 37th book perhaps best sums up his historical attitude towards the philosophical problem. 'Those things of which it is impossible to ascertain the causes, such as a continual fall of rain, etc., may reasonably be ascribed to  $\delta \thetaεος$  or  $\eta \tauύχη$ , if no cause can easily be discovered . . . . On such matters we may naturally follow the opinions of the multitude  $\delta\iota\alpha \tau\eta\nu \alpha\nu\omicron\pi\omicron\lambda\alpha\nu$ , and by prayers and sacrifices and oracles endeavour to ascertain what we can do to better our condition . . . But where it is possible to discover the causes, remote and immediate ( $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\varsigma \eta\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \delta\epsilon' \eta\nu \epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron$ ) of the event in question, I do not think that in such cases we ought to have recourse to Divine agency in order to explain them.'

W. WARDE FOWLER.

#### SOME THEORIES ON SUBJUNCTIVE PROTASIS WITH INDICATIVE APODOSIS.

CONDITIONAL sentences containing the subjunctive in protasis and the indicative in apodosis have long occupied the attention of grammarians. In 1884, Lillie,<sup>1</sup> evidently strongly influenced by the theories of Hoffmann,<sup>2</sup> attempted a solution along new lines. Briefly stated, the main points in his dissertation are as follows:

(a) We should exclude from the discussion those sentences in which the mood of the verb of the *si*-clause is not perfectly clear, e.g. when it is such a form as *dederis*; also those cases where there is a suspicion of indirect discourse. In this last category are to be included such expressions as *nisi restituerent statuas, vehementer eis minatur*, and those in which *si* approaches interrogative force (wo *si* im Sinne von 'ob' aufgefasst zu werden pflegt).

(b) In the remaining cases the subjunctive of the *si*-clause is due to the fact that that clause is logically subordinate; that is, the

indicative conclusion is an independent statement of fact, and the *si*-clause is a modifier of the nature of an afterthought—the relation between the two is merely that of Hauptsatz and Nebensatz. (Conversely, when the same mood appears in both clauses of a conditional sentence, the course of thought underlying begins with the action or state of affairs referred to in the *si*-clause, and the conclusion deals with a second action or state of affairs arising from the first; the relation of two such clauses is that of Vordersatz and Nachsatz.)<sup>3</sup>

(c) The indicative conclusion must always refer to a state of affairs (nie ein Eintretendes, sondern stets ein Zuständliches behaupten müsse, p. 5; ein Zuständliches, das in seiner Allgemeinheit gelten soll, p. 13). This peculiarity makes it possible for the indicative clause to be an independent statement though it is modified by a subjunctive *si*-clause; for the latter

<sup>1</sup> *Conjunctivischer Bedingungssatz bei indicativem Hauptsatz im Lateinischen*, Berlin, 1884.

<sup>2</sup> See his footnotes, i.e. pp. 4, 7, and 18.

<sup>3</sup> The only exception to this rule allowed seems to be in sentences that are contrary to fact; see i.e. p. 12.

merely calls attention to specific cases that help to make good this generalizing statement of fact. According to the nature of the proof afforded by the *si*-clause, the sentences in question may be thus classified:

- I. Förderndes (favouring circumstances prove the rule).
- II. Hinderndes (the rule holds even under adverse circumstances).
- III. Ausnahmen (the exception proves the rule).
- IV. Aufhebendes (in special cases the proof is lacking).

(d) In every case the indicative statement is pregnant, *i.e.* it has a sort of double value. Generally it is an independent statement of fact primarily, yet it contains or suggests a conditioned statement that is presumably the proper apodosis of the conditioning clause. Sometimes, however, the reverse is true—the indicative is primarily a conditioned statement, and it is left to the hearer to understand the unconditioned.<sup>1</sup>

In passing judgment on the merits of this theory we may start with (b)—the claim that when the underlying thought begins with the condition, the same mood is found in both clauses of a conditional sentence; and that the subjunctive *si*-clause with indicative conclusion is a phenomenon due to the fact that the thought of the indicative clause is antecedent, the *si*-clause being the expression of an afterthought and logically dependent.<sup>2</sup> Such a sweeping principle as this would seem to call for a careful demonstration, but on page 4 there appears the only clearly stated argument to prove its soundness. There we are told that, as the material is brought together, one is impressed with the brevity and unimportance of many of the *si*-clauses that contain the present subjunctive and are accompanied by an indicative conclusion. Such examples are cited as *si opus sit*, *si velint*, *si cupias* and *si roges*, and it is remarked that a mere adverbial rendering would in some cases be sufficient, *e.g.* *womöglich, nötigenfalls*. Such brevity and unimportance is taken to be an indication that these subjunctive *si*-clauses are mere subordinate modifiers of independent state-

ments, being of the nature of tags or afterthoughts. But far from supporting Lillie's position, this argument might easily be used to break down the very distinction that he is trying to establish. For if the phrases quoted above are short and unimportant, what of the following indicative *si*-clauses taken from Plautus? *Aul.* 771, *si otium sit*; *Bacch.* 99, *si lubet*; *M.G.* 972, *si illa volt*; *Amph.* 1051, *si volent*; *Asin.* 597, *si voles*; *Poen.* 778, *siquid refert*; *Men.* 557, *si potero*; *Asin.* 373 (and often), *si sapias*; *Ep.* 507, *si scis*. If the being short and unimportant proves that a *si*-clause is logically dependent, apparently the proper conclusion to draw is that logically dependent *si*-clauses are found as well in sentences that have the same mood in both clauses as in those where the mood varies. What other support he had for his theory is not definitely stated, but it is hinted that the argument above advanced is only a part of the proof. Possibly he has in mind the confirmation of his view that he finds in applying the same to the interpretation of individual examples. This, however, is not a very cogent argument, especially when the interpretations are as strange as those in this dissertation.

It is of course true that the thought of some conditional sentences begins with the *si*-clause, while in others the conclusion precedes logically. In a purely psychological investigation<sup>3</sup> I have tried to describe in detail the difference in the thought underlying a conditional sentence according as it is the idea of the protasis or apodosis that occurs first to the mind, assigning the name Consequence Period when the thought of the protasis is antecedent, and Proviso Period when the reverse is true. But Lillie's contention that the thought underlying every conditional sentence with the same mood in both clauses is a Consequence Period, while that underlying sentences with subjunctive *si*-clause and indicative conclusion is a Proviso Period cannot be so readily granted. Certainly, as shown above, he has his case still to prove; and the proof of the same will be no easy matter.

For, in the first place, he must ask us to interpret in one way the sentence in which stands the short and unimportant (*e.g.*) *si velint*, and in exactly the opposite way the sentence in which appears the equally short and unimportant (*e.g.*) *si volent*. Further take such examples as

Plaut. *Asin.* 12;

*Asinariam volt esse, si per vos licet.*

<sup>3</sup> *Amer. Jour. Phil.* xxiv. pp. 25 ff.

<sup>1</sup> But it is not explained why in such a case we do not find the same mood in both clauses.

<sup>2</sup> The words 'logically dependent' are intended as a mere paraphrase of 'being the expression of an afterthought'; *i.e.* the point of view is the *intention of the speaker*, and the order in which thoughts rise in his mind. In this way the words 'logical' and 'logically' are to be interpreted throughout the remainder of this paper. That this was Lillie's point of view appears clearly on p. 12 of his dissertation.



Plaut. *Men.* 1030;

Iubeo hercle, siquid imperist in te mihi.

The mood being the same in both clauses of these sentences, the underlying thought should be of the Consequence order according to the theory discussed. But how in the nature of things could the thought of (e.g.) *si per vos licet* be antecedent? Compare also Plaut. *Amph.* 1006, *Asin.* 373, *Bacch.* 766, *Capt.* 209, *Curc.* 328, *Ep.* 449, *M. G.* 1149, *Poen.* 675, *Ps.* 723, 1261, 1325. It is often difficult and sometimes impossible to tell whether the thought of a given conditional sentence is of the Consequence or the Proviso order, but in this list of sentences with the same mood in both clauses almost every reader will find one or more examples to add to *Asin.* 12 and *Men.* 1030 as cases in which the thought of an indicative *si*-clause cannot be antecedent. Such examples seem to show conclusively that the logical dependence of a *si*-clause does not necessarily affect the mood of the verb in that clause, and that some other theory must be sought to explain the phenomenon of subjunctive *si*-clause with indicative conclusion.

Not only does Lilie's theory thus seem to break down at once when put to a practical test, but it is also lacking in antecedent probability. For why should the Proviso Period force a variation in the mood of the verb in the *si*-clause of the sentence through which it finds expression? If my analysis (*l.c.* p. 27 ff.) of the two orders of conditional thought is correct, the difference between them may be illustrated as follows. Suppose I should say, 'I expect to do thus and so'; my friend who sees the outcome of the projected action may reply

'If you do that, you will be hurt.'

This sentence is the expression of a Consequence Period, the thought of the condition being antecedent. On the other hand, suppose that I am invited by my friend to accompany him somewhere. I am inclined to accept the invitation, but am overtaken by the thought of a possible hindering circumstance, e.g. that it may rain. I might then reply

'I will come, if it does not rain.'

This sentence illustrates the Proviso Period, the apodosis expressing the beginning of the train of thought. The marked difference in function between these two illustrative sentences is that the second carries with it an implication; i.e., when I say 'I will

come, if it does not rain,' I imply 'otherwise not.' Such implication will be found to be lacking in the other sentence.<sup>1</sup> I can see nothing either in the implication that goes with the Proviso Period or in the fact that the apodosis is logically antecedent to lead us to expect any peculiarity in the mood of the conditioning clause.<sup>2</sup>

It is true that rarely in the Proviso Period the possible hindering circumstance is so slow in occurring to the mind that the speaker begins his sentence as an independent statement, not expecting the turn his thought will take. Thus, in the example cited above, I might get as far as 'I will come,' intending these words as an unconditional acceptance of the invitation; but overtaken at that point by the thought of possible rain, the idea 'my going' at once becomes contingent in my mind, and if I should represent fully in speech my course of thought, the result would be as follows:

'I will come; or rather, I will come, if it does not rain.'

In this sentence the repetition of 'I will come' is no mere tautology, for the first is an unconditional acceptance and forms a complete sentence, and its tone therefore varies somewhat from that of the second. This will become clear if the sentence be read aloud. In such a case as this we are usually careless enough to allow the first 'I will come' to do duty for both, and though it has been spoken in the tone of an unconditional acceptance we append our condition to it, sometimes interposing a saving phrase; e.g.,

'I will come;—that is, if it does not rain.'

Here of course there is a chance for a variation in the mood of the *si*-clause; that matter would be determined by the laws that govern the mood of the verbs in *si*-clauses generally. Any such variation would be due to the fact that we are putting together clauses that properly belong to different sentences, and not at all really to the fact that the underlying conditional thought is a Proviso Period. Even in such extreme cases as this Lilie could find no conclusive proof of the truth of his theory.

<sup>1</sup> This point is explained in detail, *l.c.* pp. 31 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Some perhaps would not so readily grant this; any such are referred to the demonstration just given that Lilie's theory will not stand a practical test, whatever the antecedent probability of its correctness. Though no variation of mood is to be expected when the underlying thought is a Proviso Period, there is often doubtless a variation in the tone of voice.

These extreme cases are naturally most common in the offhand speech of everyday life; a stenographer might catch them here and there, but we should hardly expect to find many in the language of a studied composition. That they are not of frequent occurrence in the material with which Lilie is working is shown clearly by the fact that the protasis often precedes the indicative conclusion. If there are any such there, his description of the indicative clause as an independent statement of fact would be in a sense correct as applied to them. But it is not true of the conditional sentence generally through which a Proviso Period is expressed; for the thought period is usually complete before we begin to speak, and the interdependence of clauses is not a whit less close when I say

'I will come, if it does not rain'

than when my friend says

'If you do that, you will be hurt.'

The classification offered by Lilie (c) may be more briefly treated. Of his four classes the two last (*Ausnahmen* and *Aufhebendes*) are very insignificant numerically, and the real effect of the classification is hardly more than the making of two large groups (*Förderndes* and *Hinderndes*), i.e., those examples in which *si* is used with concessive force are drawn off into a class by themselves. This I think is the one point of value in the classification; the remainder seems to be a flagrant case of fitting facts to a theory. The theory is that, in every sentence of the class under discussion, the *si*-clause by its reference to concrete cases somehow supports the truth of the apodosis. Now this can happen naturally only when the apodosis is of the nature of a generalizing statement; hence we are told (p. 5) that it must always be such, and that, accordingly, the present and the imperfect tenses are the only ones properly used, the (frequently occurring) future and other tenses needing a special dispensation (p. 14). The violent handling of individual examples to make them fit the theory is well illustrated by the treatment of Cic. *Cato Maior* 7, 21, which is explained in detail (p. 5). As punctuated here it reads

At memoria minuitur, credo, nisi eam exerceas.

The interpretation is that the first clause is the unconditional expression of a general truth—the memory is doomed (in every case) to fail; the conditioning clause produces

evidence of the validity of the preceding proposition by citing a case where this happens, i.e., when people neglect to use their memories.

The last point (d) mentioned in the summary at the beginning, namely that the indicative conclusion is a pregnant expression, is interesting and important. It is stated more clearly elsewhere, and will be considered later.

Following Lilie came Blase with a paper on the present subjunctive in conditional sentences.<sup>1</sup> His material is divided into three groups according to mood and tense; the sentences that go to make up these groups may be represented by typical formulae, namely *si sit—sit*, *si sit—est*, and *si sit—erit*. The sentences of the last two forms are of interest for the present discussion, and Blase devotes the first pages of his paper to an examination and rejection of all previous theories to explain the phenomenon of subjunctive *si*-clause with indicative apodosis. His own suggestion is particularly unsatisfying—that in all such cases it is the subjunctive of the *si*-clause (and not the indicative of the conclusion) that should be made the basis of the explanation of the form of the sentence, and that this subjunctive (just as in the form *si sit—sit*) must be justified by deriving it from some independent (paratactic?) use of that mood. I say that this suggestion is very unsatisfying, for what proof is there that the speaker or writer of hypotactic *si*-clauses which contain the subjunctive felt any conscious connection between the use of the mood there and its use to express e.g. jussive or optative ideas?<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact it has yet to be proved that subjunctive *si*-clauses are even derived originally from such uses in parataxis. It is certainly much more practical to try to find some peculiarity of meaning in these sentences made up of subjunctive *si*-clause and indicative conclusion—a peculiarity of which the speaker was duly conscious—to serve as an explanation of the peculiarity of form. Other investigators have not despaired of finding a way out in this direction.

The rest of Blase's paper is given over to a most interesting and important demonstration of the gradual retreat of the form *si sit—sit* before the advance of the forms *si sit—est* and *si sit—erit*. With this historical

<sup>1</sup> 'Der Konjunctiv des Präsens im Bedingungssatze,' *Wolfflin's Archiv*, ix. p. 17 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Delbrück's concessions along this line in his latest utterances are very significant. See *Neue Jahrbücher*, v. (1902), p. 317 ff.

development we are not at present concerned. We should like to know rather what is the difference in meaning between *e.g. si sit—erit* and *si sit—sit* when they are used by the same author.

Lebreton,<sup>1</sup> who confines his investigation to the writings of Cicero, quite dissents from the treatment by Blase of the sentences of the forms *si sit—est* and *si sit—erit* in his author. He would make at least four subdivisions on the basis of meaning:

(a) When the subject of the verb of the *si*-clause is the indefinite second singular. Blase (*l.c.* p. 20) strenuously objects to looking for an explanation of the subjunctive in this circumstance, because the indicative and imperative sometimes also have the indefinite second singular as their subject. Lebreton's answer is that when the indicative (rather than the subjunctive) is used the speaker singles out and envisages an unnamed individual, and that there are many cases almost impossible of explanation unless we accept this distinction. Whatever the estimate we may place on this criterion of the use of the indicative and the subjunctive, and despite the persistent effort to discredit any explanation of the use of the subjunctive on the basis of its indefinite subject,<sup>2</sup> we may well feel that here is a phenomenon that will bear further investigation, especially in view of the very widely extended use of the subjunctive in all sorts of dependent clauses in which the subject is the indefinite second singular.

(b) When *si* is concessive. This class was noted above in the discussion of Lillie's views. Lebreton further notes that the adversative relation between the clauses allows the indicative conclusion to remain an independent statement of fact; *e.g.*, '(Even) if he does his worst, I will go.' Here 'my going' is not conditioned on the 'if'-clause—I am going anyway, even under adverse circumstances.

(c) When the verb of the conclusion is one of possibility or necessity. Lebreton regards this use as 'an illogical extension of the syntax of independent sentences,' *i.e.*, of the use of (*e.g.*) *possum* where the English idiom calls for 'I could,' and French use the conditional mood (*cf.* p. 279).

(d) When no peculiarity of meaning is easily discerned (see table p. 364).

Lodge<sup>3</sup> takes up the old question, but with special reference to the use of indicative forms in the apodoses of conditional sentences contrary to fact. He passes judgment rather hastily on the work of Lillie and Blase, inclining to support the former. For he says, *si* has to a certain extent the effect of a subordinating particle in the semi-interrogative construction after verbs of Trial and Expectation, being there paralleled by *ut*- and *dum*-constructions; hence Lillie is right in claiming that some *si*-clauses are logically dependent, though he is mistaken in trying to explain all cases of subjunctive *si*-clause with indicative conclusion in this way. But this really misses Lillie's meaning; for he expressly states that he excludes from the discussion all such cases as this (*wo si im Sinne von 'ob' aufgefasst zu werden pflegt*, p. 3). Consequently we must judge of Lillie's theory in its application to the remaining sentences that exhibit the peculiar modal use under discussion. I have tried to show that it breaks down when so applied, and Blase's rejection of the theory (*l.c.* p. 21 ff.) seems abundantly justified.

However, these opening remarks of Lodge are not without interest for the present discussion. For they call attention to the possibility that, in certain cases, *si* may be used where the thought would find more natural and exact expression through a conjunction of another kind. If in this way *si* should usurp the function of (*e.g.*) an interrogative word in an indirect question, we should have at hand a ready explanation for the presence of a subjunctive in that clause, whatever the mood of the verb in the conclusion. I do not think, however, that Lodge meant that any such application of his remark should be made; rather he seems to feel that, in attacking the problem of subjunctive *si*-clause with indicative conclusion, we should bend our energies to an explanation of the indicative conclusion, not of the subjunctive *si*-clause.

In setting forth his view, the sentences that employ the present subjunctive are first considered, the theory evolved for them being then applied to the sentences that contain the secondary tenses of that mood. The theory for the present subjunctive may be summed up as follows:

(a) A normal ideal conditional sentence consists of two members both of which refer to the future. Normal then would be (with

<sup>1</sup> *Études sur la langue et la grammaire de Cicéron*, Paris, 1901, pp. 349 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Greenough, *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* ii. (1871), p. 161, and references in Blase, *l.c.* pp. 19 and 20.

<sup>3</sup> *On the Theory of the Ideal Condition in Latin*, *Studies in honour of B. L. Gildersleeve*, Baltimore, 1902, pp. 253 ff.

others) the two forms *si sit—sit* and *si sit—erit*.

(b) The form *si sit—est* may be called the 'spurious' form. Its justification consists in the fact that the present indicative of the conclusion is always a verb with a future outlook (e.g., *possum, expecto*, etc.). Though these present indicative forms are primarily mere statements of an attitude or tendency to act, still their future outlook enables them to imply a proper apodosis for a subjunctive *si*-clause (which, according to Lodge's theory, always refers to the future).

(c) We may classify sentences of this form according to the kind of verb in the indicative conclusion, each kind of verb, in its own way, possessing a future outlook.

(1) Verbs of Trial and Expectation.

(2) Verbs of Possibility, Power, Obligation, and Necessity.

(3) The Active and Passive Periphrastic.

(4) Any word or phrase that looks toward the future.

(5) The present tense denoting progress.

(6) A number of uses like *longum est, par est, aequum est*.

In Lodge's theory perhaps the most valuable feature is the elaboration of Lilie's suggestion that the indicative conclusion is a pregnant expression. I should hesitate to claim for this principle such a wide scope of application as either Lilie or Lodge. Yet in certain cases it may be very properly applied, though I can fancy Blase again saying 'so wird hier nur die alte Ellipsentheorie zu neuem Leben erweckt' (*l.c.* p. 21). Since neither of its advocates explains this point in detail, I may illustrate by the use of two concessive contrary to fact sentences.

*Cic. Cat. Mai.* 11. 38 :

..... affero res multum et diu cogitatas easque tueor animi, non corporis viribus. Quas si exsequi nequirem, tamen me lectulus meus oblectaret, ea ipsa cogitantem, quae...

In such a sentence as this, the apodosis states what would be true under changed circumstances, and implies that the same thing is true under the present circumstances, i.e. *oblectaret* not only means 'would delight me,' but it also clearly implies 'does delight me.' This may perhaps be called the normal procedure; sometimes it is reversed.

*Cic. Lael.* 27, 104 :

Sed nec illa exstincta sunt alunturque potius et augentur cogitatione et memoria mea, et si illis plane orbatu essem, magnum tamen *affert* mihi aetas ipsa solacium.

Here the speaker chooses to state outright the existing state of affairs (*affert*), leaving it to the hearer to infer that the same state of affairs would continue under changed circumstances—an inference which the mood and tense of the verb in the protasis render easy. This second example may serve to illustrate how an indicative conclusion can be a pregnant expression (*Lilie*), or imply an apodosis (*Lodge*). I can see no valid reason for trying to discredit this method of explanation; it is very probable that many sentences of the form *si sit—est* are to be treated in this way, especially those in which the verb of the conclusion is *possum, debeo*, or other like expression.

The remainder of Lodge's treatment of the present subjunctive is less helpful for the present discussion, partly doubtless because of the brevity of his paper, partly too, I think, because this part of his article is but a stepping-stone to the theory for the secondary tenses of the subjunctive. To explain the use of the latter as future from a point in the past originally,<sup>1</sup> he has felt it desirable to claim a reference to the future for all cases of the form *si sit—sit, si sit—erit, and si sit—est*. This fancied necessity for finding some kind of future reference in all cases has reacted unfavourably for the purposes of the present investigation. For, satisfied with the future reference of the form *si sit—erit*, Lodge has been content to rank it as 'normal'<sup>2</sup> along with *si sit—sit*, certainly at least implying that the first named form calls for no explanation. Again, to secure the future reference, it has been necessary to assume

<sup>1</sup> The implied evolution of a specific contrary to fact construction through this use of the secondary tenses of the subjunctive to express a future from a point in the past would be more convincing if it should be first shown that the latter use antedates the employment of the imperfect subjunctive for the present contrary to fact; certainly the frequent occurrence of such a use is late rather than early (see *Class. Rev.* xv. p. 51 ff.), and already in Plautus about one fourth of the present contrary to fact sentences are using the imperfect subjunctive (*Amer. Jour. Phil.* xxii. p. 316).

<sup>2</sup> I cannot pass unchallenged Lodge's surprising statement (*l.c.* p. 256) that a normal ideal conditional period consists of two members of which 'one is not the complement of the other nor is it dependent on the other.' Though they were otherwise applied by him, the words of Blase (*l.c.* p. 20) are none too emphatic for this situation: 'Eine solche Unabhängigkeit ist bei einer regelrechten Bedingungsperiode einfach nicht möglich, da ihre Eigentümlichkeit gerade auf der gegenseitigen Abhängigkeit der beiden Satzglieder beruht.' In the same paragraph the phrase 'a premiss in the form of a wish' is at least misleading.



that, in the form *si sit—est*, the verb of the conclusion always has a future outlook. But when the *si*-clause is concessive or has for its subject the indefinite second singular, there are plenty of cases of this form in which the indicative of the conclusion has no future outlook;<sup>1</sup> such future outlook would be really undesirable, for the subjunctive of the accompanying *si*-clause does not refer to the future either (see examples in Lebreton pp. 354 ff.). Finally, the possibility does not seem to be recognized that the explanation of the form *si sit—est* should be based, in some cases, not on the indicative of the conclusion, but on the subjunctive of the *si*-clause.

After looking at the subject in hand from all sides, it is hard to resist the conclusion that Lebreton is right in insisting on a subdivision according to meaning, and that the proper mode of procedure is to seek an explanation for subjunctive *si*-clause with indicative apodosis along the line of the functional differences thus brought out; and further, since these functional differences are very marked, that we should expect the correct explanation not to be the same in every case, being prepared, if necessary, to make now the subjunctive *si*-clause, now the indicative conclusion the basis of explanation. In closing this paper I may therefore enumerate various functional classes in which we may perhaps hope to find some light shed on the problem of subjunctive *si*-clause with indicative conclusion.

(1) In apodosis such verbs as *expecto, viso* (Expectation, Trial).

(2) In apodosis such verbs as *possum, debeo* (Ability, Necessity).

(3) *Si*-clause is concessive.

(4) Subject of the verb of the *si*-clause is the indefinite second singular.

(5) Disjointed combinations arising from a shift of the point of view of the speaker.

(6) Sentences possessing no obvious peculiarity of meaning.

To recognize the cases that employ the secondary tenses of the subjunctive, we may add

(7) *Si*-clause refers to a future from a point in the past.

(8) Sentence is contrary to fact.

It is quite possible that still other classes might be added with profit. How some of the above classes may be utilized for the

<sup>1</sup> Lodge does not notice these classes, but even among those he does recognize he admits that the future outlook is not always obvious (*l.c.* p. 257, class 6); the same might be said of some of the sentences quoted under (4).

solution of the problem in hand has already been indicated, though it does not really fall within the province of this paper to go into that matter very deeply. One word I would add however with reference to class (6). Lebreton seems to find a few cases falling under that heading among the sentences of both the form *si sit—erit* and *si sit—est*. To dispose of such examples satisfactorily it may be necessary to answer the very difficult question What, at bottom, is the essential difference of meaning between *si sit* and *si erit*? Or, to put the question in terms of a time-honoured controversy, What is the distinction in meaning between *si sit—sit* and *si erit—erit*? My suggestion with reference to this question, if it be raised, is that we need not go back to original or fundamental meanings of the indicative and the subjunctive for an explanation;<sup>2</sup> for the Roman speaker had no such consciousness and was influenced by no such consideration.<sup>3</sup> Whatever the distinction was, we may be sure that it was not abstract—rather it was of a common practical sort. The Transactions of the early meetings of

<sup>2</sup> Here again it is difficult to allow Lodge's statement to pass unchallenged. He bases his whole theory on the original force of the subjunctive (*l.c.* p. 255). This original force, he says, must have been futurity and nothing else; for it is generally agreed that the I.E. force of the subjunctive was futurity, and this was the case of the optative also (cf. Goodwin, *Greek Moods and Tenses*, Appendix I). Though, as above noted, this question need not be raised, since it has been raised, we are perhaps justified in asking for a little more information about the exact meaning of this statement. For if in the I.E. period future indicative, subjunctive, and optative forms all expressed mere futurity, how were *e.g.* wish and exhortation expressed? There is a serious difficulty here, for that such ideas were expressed cannot be doubted, and it is just as certain that the verb-forms through which they were expressed were *ipso facto* the expression of wish and exhortation. In view of Lodge's confidence in the strength of the position he takes, it may not be out of place to call attention to the fact that a small (but, I hope, respectable) minority of scholars hold an altogether different theory with reference to early modal usage.

In the same passage, while trying to show that all the uses of the Latin subjunctive betray this assumed original force, Lodge passes unnoticed those cases in which the *si*-clause is concessive or the subject of the verb is the indefinite second singular. To these might be added the use of the present subjunctive in early Latin for the present contrary to fact; for here there is no more future force than there is when the imperfect subjunctive is so used (*e.g.*) in Cicero; cf. *Class. Rev.* xv. p. 51 ff. The statement in the Gildersleeve-Lodge Grammar, 596 Rem. 1, is very misleading on this point.

<sup>3</sup> See again Delbrück, *Neue Jahrb.* v. p. 325: 'In den Einzelsprachen findet sich nicht als einzelne Gebrauchstypen bei denen der Sinn des Kasus sich ganz aus der Situation zu ergeben scheint. Von einer Grundbedeutung des Kasus hat der Sprechende nicht das geringste Bewusstsein' (italics mine).

the American Philological Association contain much literature on the subject. One of the most interesting contributions—that of C. D. Morris<sup>1</sup>—has received less attention

<sup>1</sup> Vol vi. (1875), p. 44 ff.

than it deserves. Whatever we may think of the detail, its method is certainly sane and suggestive.

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### THE LATIN SAPPHIC.

We may represent what was presumably the rhythm of the Greek sapphic thus:



where the time taken by each bar is equal, though the third bar is divided between a long and two shorts, and the fifth bar between two longs.

Again, we may represent the modern English rhythm of the sapphic thus:



which is approximately the rhythm of Fleming's music to *Integer vitae*, and of 'Needy knife-grinder.'

The differences between these two rhythms are three:

(1) There is a change from what is in the main triple time to 'common' or duple time. I say 'in the main,' for the effect of triple time is broken by bars 3 and 5.

(2) There is a change from 5-bar rhythm to 4-bar rhythm.

(3) The stress in the English rhythm comes on the fourth and sixth syllables instead of on the fifth and seventh.

These differences deserve separate attention; and when we have determined the causes of each, we may be able to see to what extent they were produced or furthered by Horace himself, and so finally to form some idea of the Latin sapphic as conceived by Horace, between its Greek parent on the one hand and its English (degenerate) offspring on the other.

(1) The first change was due in the main to the genius of the Latin language itself, which did not easily accommodate itself to triple-time rhythms. The Roman sense of time in speech was not so delicate as the Greek, and perhaps the triple time was felt too tripping for the dignity of Roman speech. Horace however clearly aided the change by consistently putting a long syllable in the fourth place. Before him Catullus

has shown a distinct preference for a long syllable in that place, as in his two sapphic poems he has only three lines beginning

— — — — —

(2) The second change was due to the desire for an easier and more symmetrical rhythm, and naturally came about when lyrics were read rather than sung. In the case of the sapphic it was helped on by the change of accent (to be next discussed); but in this respect a similar effect has overtaken two other nearly allied Greek lyric metres.

(a) The Alcaic line, originally



has become



(β) the 'hendecasyllable,' originally



(with some variations, not now to the point,) has become



(3) The third change was due undoubtedly to the influence of the caesura after the fifth syllable—the 'Horatian caesura,' as it is called, though Catullus in his sapphics has only two lines in which there is a different caesura. As the cause of this we must assign a desire to get an effect of conflict between metrical ictus and word-stress, followed by a reconciliation. This effect was no doubt strengthened by the lengthening of the fourth syllable; for though conflict between ictus and accent might be produced by making syllables 4 and 5 consist of an iambic word, yet the effect of syncope is much stronger when the fourth

syllable is long. But whereas the lengthening of the fourth syllable is *universal* in Horace, the caesura after the fifth syllable is only *usual*.

Taking the two extremes, the Greek rhythm at one end, the English rhythm at the other, to which did the effect intended by Horace more nearly approximate? The differences between the two rhythms are so important that I find it impossible to believe, with Prof. Sonnenschein (*C.R.* p. 255), that Horace intended to pass within one poem from one rhythm to the other. The change would be impossible in singing, as he allows; even in reading Latin the effect seems to me very doubtful; nor am I encouraged by the stanza of Tennyson quoted on p. 253. Moreover, Horace has a certain number of lines that *must* preserve the Greek rhythm, so far as concerns the two important points, 5-bar rhythm and stress on the fifth syllable. He has *no* line in which that reading is impossible.

It so happened that the ode *Integer vitae*, which Flemming selected to set to music, contains no example of any other caesura than the 'Horatian.' How he would have dealt with such a line as

Phoebe, silvarumque potens Diana,

I do not know.

Nor can I believe, with Dr. Verrall (*C.R.* p. 342), that Horace, knowing that there was little chance of getting his sapphics read in the way he himself preferred, was willing to give his readers licence, and even some encouragement, to read them otherwise. I believe that Horace definitely intended his sapphics to be read or sung like their Greek originals in respect to two of the three points mentioned above. The other point, the change from (a predominant) triple time to duple time is less important. After all, it comes to little more than this, that in the Greek rhythm most of the bars were divided unevenly, in the Latin most were divided evenly.

Horace's notion of the normal Latin sapphic was

♩ . ♩ | ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩

where bars 1 and 4 are unequally divided, but no prejudice is intended to the question of the exact proportion between the long and short syllables.

Horace in his sapphics was aiming at an effect of 'syncopation' similar to that which gives its charm to the Latin hexameter. Another instance of the same effect

(as Dr. Verrall has no doubt noticed) is found in the 3rd line of the Alcaic stanza, where instead of

♩ | ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩  
αἰ - δὼς κε σ' οὐ κατ - εἰχ - εν ὀππατ'

we get

♩ | ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩  
et cuncta terra - rum sub - acta.

But, as to the sapphic, Horace in the first three Books rather overdid it. 'So fantastical' was 'the dainty metre,' that it barely bore the strain he put upon it. He longed to preserve the original rhythm, but to get as much of the effect of syncopation as possible. In the more robust hexameter there was not the same danger. But even the hexameter was exposed to the same perversion, though here the result was merely the sprouting of an off-shoot. As soon as the word-stress on the last half of the second foot was reinforced by rime, it triumphed, and we get the 'leonine'

ut rosa flos florum sic est domus illa  
domorum.

This is the fate to which rhythmists who play with syncopation are exposed. When he introduced the fascinating element of conflict, Horace hardly sufficiently realized that the balance might sway in the wrong direction. People *would* read the Latin sapphic accentually and were sliding into the 'Needy knife-grinder.' But Horace never encouraged them to do so this. He did much to prevent them. In three odes of Book I (as Dr. Verrall has pointed out), namely 10, 12, and 30, he starts them on the right lines by opening with a trochaic caesura.

♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩

We now come to the sapphic odes later than the Three Books. And here it is convenient to consider the question whether Horace's lyrics were mainly intended for singing or for reading. In the first three Books the only Sapphic ode that distinctly suggests singing is I. 10,

Mercuri, facunde nepos Atlantis,  
which is a hymn. It happens that this is also the ode which has the most frequent exceptions to the 'Horatian caesura'; that is to say, it has three instances of the trochaic caesura, whereas no other ode in

the Three Books has more than one, and the majority have none at all. Perhaps the coincidence is accidental; but it is also possible that in a sung ode Horace wished to preserve more fully the flavour of the Greek original. Neither of the sapphic odes of Catullus strongly suggests singing. But for the study of metre it is important to consider the odes as intended to be read: it is for right *reading* that precautions must be taken; when an ode is sung, 'the music,' as Prof. Sonnenschein says (p. 255), 'takes care of its own rhythm.' But the question between reading and singing is not really important in the present connexion; for Horace certainly intended those of his odes that were primarily meant for singing to be also effective when read.

There are four sapphic odes later than the Three Books, namely Book IV., odes 2, 6, and 11, and the Carmen Saeculare. Of these the last-named was of course intended in the first instance for singing. With this we must place IV. 6, of the same date and of similar character. On the other hand IV. 2 does not much suggest singing, and IV. 11 hardly at all. But all four odes agree in having a much larger number of

trochaic caesuras than the odes of the first Three Books. The explanation is that Horace was conscious that the precautions he had hitherto taken to ensure the right reading of his sapphics were not sufficient. The metre must be fortified, the syncopation more frequently sacrificed, the original rhythm more frequently recalled. And—let it be repeated—no person, 'however feloniously disposed,' could read *Phoebe, silvarumque potens Diana*, in the rhythm of the 'Needy knife-grinder.'

That the writing—and the reading—of the Latin sapphic was no easy matter is evident. But I doubt if mere difficulty of form is enough to account for the fact that it did not take permanent root. If it decayed after the death of Horace, it may be asked what Latin *poetry* (setting aside satire and epigram) did not decay after that date? For the matter of that, how long did the golden age of Greek lyric poetry itself last? Fair Latin sapphics have been written by Englishmen, and probably Romans could have written them too if they had had anything to say in them. But they had not.

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#### THE QUESTION OF THE COINCIDENCE OF WORD-ACCENT AND VERSE-ICTUS IN THE LATIN HEXAMETER.

THIS subject was treated by Prof. M. W. Humphreys in a paper 'On Accent in Latin Dactylic Hexameters,' published in the Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1878. His statistics showed that from the time of Ennius, who made no attempt to avoid conflict between word-accent and verse-ictus, and 25 per cent of whose extant hexameters show conflict, there is a steady decrease of such non-coincidence in Lucilius and Lucretius till we get to Virgil, who has only 4 per cent. Other facts not stated by Prof. Humphreys are that there are only five (5) cases of conflict in Cicero, in Catullus twenty-four (24) apparent cases, of which, however, all but two can be explained away. Hence Virgil as compared with Cicero and Catullus, was even slightly reactionary.

There is, indeed, one important exception to this development. Horace shows a very large percentage of non-coincidence. But Prof. Humphreys' figures show 28 per cent

of conflict in Satires I, but only 17 per cent in the Epistles. This merely bears out a well-known fact that Horace, though he allowed himself great licences in all of his hexameter-poems, was much more careful in the Epistles than in the Satires. The difference between 28 and 17 per cent cannot have been due to accident.

Prof. Humphreys' statistics are supplemented and substantiated by Schulze in the *Zeitschrift für das Gymnasialwesen*, xxix, pp. 590 ff., who after examining the works of the poets of the strictly classical school, finds that in Tibullus, Lygdamus, Propertius, Ovid, and Statius, the cases of conflict are so very few as to be negligible.

Here, then, appears to be a very strong case for the theory that this agreement of accent and ictus was by design. But this theory has been vigorously attacked by Wilhelm Meyer in the *Sitzungsberichte der Königl. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München* 1884, pp. 979–1087. His views are adopted by Plessis, in the *Traité*



de *Métrique Grecque et Latine*, and by Lucian Müller in his *De Re Metrica*.

The statement in regard to the words that may, according to the strict rule, finish an hexameter, is thus made by Plessis: The hexameter should end with a dissyllable preceded by a word of at least three syllables, or with a trisyllable preceded by a word of at least two syllables. Prepositions and monosyllabic conjunctions like *sed* and *et* are proclitic or enclitic. This rule secures the correspondence of ictus and accent, and one's first thought is that the rule was observed in order to secure the correspondence. But Plessis points out that the agreement is produced by endings like *dū genuerunt*, or *pariterque animatas*, but that these endings are avoided by the classical poets just as much as those which produced disagreement. Plessis also says that there is conflict in endings like *nullaque circa*, but this, in spite of the testimony of grammarians to the contrary, is very doubtful (cf. Corssen, *Aussprache*, ii, p. 835 and Lindsay, *A.J.P.* xiv, p. 313, as cited below). However, the avoidance of the other two endings cannot be explained according to the theory we are considering.

Plessis thus accounts for the two permitted endings, *culmina tecti* and *caecus amore*: If the hexameter end otherwise than in a word of two or three syllables, it must of necessity happen either that a masculine caesura is produced in the fifth or sixth foot or in both at once, e.g., *dī || genuerunt*, *interinat || res, et || sapiens*. *Quid*, or the fifth and sixth feet are contained in one word, like *sollicitabant*. In the former case, the end of the verse bears too close a resemblance to the beginning, in which the masculine caesura often occurs more than once, and with pleasing effect, and is usually bound to occur at least once. As to the form of ending represented by *sollicitabant*, Plessis thinks that poets not only sought feminine caesura in or at the end of the fifth foot, as in *culmina tecti*, and *caecus amore*, but avoided pentasyllabic closes in which it could not occur.

Meyer, who was probably Plessis' authority, has very much the same treatment of the matter, and shows in addition that the avoidance of masculine caesura after the fifth thesis was in imitation of Alexandrian usage.

These arguments have convinced many scholars of the futility of the theory that the correspondence of ictus and accent was intentional. And I think that Meyer and Plessis prove beyond dispute that the Roman

poets of the classical school did avoid masculine caesura in the fifth and sixth feet, preferring feminine caesura in or after the fifth foot. But they do not prove that at the same time these poets did not strive to avoid the conflict of accent and ictus.

An examination of the metrical scheme of the dactylic hexameter reveals, besides the two classical types, *caecus a | more*, and *culmina | tecti*, three ways in which this verse may be closed so as to avoid masculine caesura of the fifth and sixth feet. We may have a spondaic or trochaic word in the sixth foot preceded, first, by a word of trochaic ending plus a non-enclitic monosyllable, e.g. *evasisse || tot urbes* (Aen. iii 282), secondly, by a word of trochaic ending in the fifth foot plus a non-enclitic pyrrhic or iambic word of which the final syllable is elided, e.g. *respercit. Ibi omnes* (Virg. Georg. iv 491), or thirdly, by a first paeonic or choriambic word of which the final syllable is elided, e.g. *suppetere ipsae*, (Lucr. i 1050). It will at once be seen that in all these cases the accent and ictus do not coincide. If, then, the classical poets avoided these cadences, they must have tried, not only to avoid masculine caesura of the fifth and sixth feet, but also to secure coincidence of accent and ictus.

To take up first the type *suppetere ipsae*, which is not at all uncommon in Lucretius. According to Prof. Humphreys, there is only one genuine case of it in Virgil, *intremere omnem*, Aen. iii 581. There are cases in which the final syllable of the quadrisyllable is *-que*, like *omniaque*, but it is very doubtful if *-que*, when elided, caused the accent to fall on the syllable immediately preceding.<sup>1</sup> In Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, and Statius, there are no cases at all of this cadence.

As to the two remaining types, *respercit. Ibi omnes*, and *evasisse tot urbes*, there are no cases of them in Catullus, Propertius, Ovid, or Statius, and none in Tibullus, except i. 8, 11 and 23. In Virgil's *Bucolics* there are no cases of either. In the *Georgics*, *respercit. Ibi omnes* is found, iv 491, but there are no instances of the type *evasisse tot urbes*. In the *Aeneid*, there is only one case of the type *respercit. Ibi omnes*, ix 351, *tendebat; ibi ignem*. Of the other type there are six examples, i 47, and 76, ii 150, iii 282 and 480, and x 482.

Therefore the law for the close of the hexameter should be stated somewhat as

<sup>1</sup> Corroboration of this statement is found in the fact, that, as Lindsay has shown, when *-que* and *-ne* are elided in Plautus, the preceding word appears to retain its usual accent (*A.J.P.* xiv. p. 313).

follows: The hexameter poets of the classical school, and according to our results we may include Cicero and Catullus, in general avoid in dactylic verses masculine caesura of the fifth and sixth feet and pentasyllabic closes; and they very rarely allow a dissyllable preceded, first, by a short non-enclitic monosyllable; secondly, by a non-enclitic pyrrhic or iambic word with final elision; and third, by a first paeonic or choriambic word with final elision.

In discussing the above presentation after it was read before the American Philological Association, Dr. Radford remarked that, inasmuch as the element of elision entered into two of the types of hexameter-close which I have investigated, it might be well to inquire if these types were not avoided in order to avoid elision at that particular point. Accordingly, I have carefully studied the complete collection of instances of elision before the sixth foot in all the Latin poets, which was made by Eskuche in *Rhein. Mus.*, N.F. 45, pp. 385 ff.

Eskuche first observes that this variety of elision is rare, a fact which he thinks may be partially due to the small number of spondaic and trochaic words in Latin beginning with a vowel. The accuracy of this latter statement is at least open to question. But he also attributes it in part to the unpleasant character of elision in this place. It is, however, noticeable that this elision is not common in Ennius and Lucilius, and does not become less common in the later poets, as we should expect. As opposed to two instances in Ennius, and twelve in Lucilius, there are sixty-five in Lucretius, one in Catullus, eighteen in Virgil, one in Tibullus, and nine in Ovid. Horace, as Eskuche says, is *ganz masslos*. Now the author shows that in such elisions Virgil allowed only words ending in *-que*, and *sine* (prep.), *ibi*, and *ubi*; likewise that in this he was followed strictly by Ovid, who also used *nisi*, Lucan, Petronius, *auctor Aetnae*, and Silius Italicus, less strictly by Valerius

Flaccus and Statius. Eskuche also observes that Virgil and the others usually put *-que* after a word of four or five syllables, though he cites two cases of *omniaque*, and he might have added that they never put it after a dissyllable. I think that the reason is plain. Examples like *omniaque* are rare because they give rise to bucolic diaeresis, which is little used by Latin poets except Juvenal. And a dissyllable followed by *-que*, like *dataque*, would cause conflict of accent and ictus, and also masculine caesura of the fifth foot. In cases of words of three or more syllables plus *-que*, there is probably, as I have shown above, no conflict. As to the type *suppetere ipsae*, we have already seen that Virgil has only one case of it. The other poets under consideration have none at all.

As to *ibi*, *ubi*, *sine*, and *nisi*, the two latter words are always proclitic, and so is *ubi* except in direct questions. *Ibi*, the only non-enclitic of the four, is found only twice in Virgil, and in all the other poets not at all. So when Eskuche says, *l.c.*, p. 387, that Ovid admits *ibi*, he is wrong, for on his own showing, Ovid's works contain no example of it. And in the works of all these poets, *ubi* is never used in a direct question, that is to say it is always proclitic.

Therefore Eskuche seems to be wrong in saying that elision was avoided before the sixth foot because of its unpleasant effect in that place. On the contrary, at least when the vowel elided was short or common, it appears to have been freely admitted by the best poets in cases where it did not produce conflict of word-accent and verse-ictus, and the only such cases possible are those of *-que* preceded by at least a trisyllable, and of dissyllabic proclitics. The facts in regard to the elision of long vowels before the sixth foot are given by Eskuche on pp. 408-411, but do not affect our results.

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#### THE VATICAN PALIMPSEST OF CICERO'S VERRINE ORATIONS.

In the concluding chapter of *A History of Classical Scholarship from the Sixth Century B.C. to the end of the Middle Ages* I have given a brief survey of the principal Latin authors which are quoted or imitated in the Middle Ages, or are entered in

mediaeval catalogues or preserved in extant mediaeval MSS. In the course of this survey I have drawn special attention to those of the extant MSS which can be definitely traced to monastic libraries of mediaeval times. In dealing with Cicero, I was

naturally bound to mention the Vatican palimpsest and to state the definitely known fact that, for a short time, it was preserved at S. Andrea della Valle. There was no difficulty in identifying this with the church of that name in Rome, not far from the ruins of Pompey's theatre. But the question arose whether the library at S. Andrea was in any sense a *mediaeval* library. It was easy to ascertain that, in its present form, the church in question belonged to no earlier date than 1594; but I was unable to discover whether any church of the same name had previously stood on the same site; and even so well-informed an editor of Cicero's *Speeches* as Mr. A. C. Clark, of Queen's College, Oxford, whom I naturally consulted on this question, could not throw any light on the *provenance* of the Vatican palimpsest, or account for its having passed for a time into the possession of the church of S. Andrea. There was also the further question as to how it came about that this palimpsest was classed among the MSS of Queen Christina, added to the Vatican collection after the Queen's death in 1689; and, lastly, the question whether it ever belonged to Queen Christina.

It was impossible for me to deal fully with these points in the brief reference to the palimpsest, which will be found on p. 626 of my *History of Classical Scholarship*, and in a note on that page. But, as the history of this MS is apparently as unknown to other English scholars as it was to myself a short time ago, I avail myself of the present opportunity to state the results of my inquiries. The inquiries in question were addressed by myself to the well-known historian Count Ugo Balzani of Rome, and were placed by him in the hands of Dr. B. Nogara, one of the learned officials of the Vatican Library. Scholars are well aware that the Vatican palimpsest, the text of which was published by Mai in his *Auctores Classici*, ii, 390—537, is ascribed to century III or IV and that Prosper's abstract of Jerome, *De Viris Illustribus*, was written over the original in century VI or VII. But they are not in general familiar with the fact that this palimpsest once belonged to Pope Pius II (*Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini*), who died in 1464, and that it has not at present been traced to any earlier owner. Dr. Nogara has drawn my attention to an article on the MSS of Pius II contributed by E. Piccolomini to the *Bolletino Storico Senese*, 1899, fasc. iii, a periodical which (as it happens) is not to be found in the Cambridge University Library. From an abstract of

the article, which I owe to the kindness of Professor Rapson of the British Museum, it appears that Jacobo Piccolomini, one of the nephews of Pius II, transferred many of that Pope's MSS to the beautiful library designed by the Pope himself, which is familiar to all who have visited the Cathedral of Siena. At the nephew's death, however, certain of the MSS remained untransferred. These were left in the palace of another nephew of the Pope, Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius III (d. 1503). Towards the end of the sixteenth century, Constantia Piccolomini gave this palace to the Theatine fathers, on condition that they built on its site the church now known as S. Andrea della Valle, the building of which was begun in 1594. The untransferred portion of the MSS of Pius II passed first to the old home of the Theatine fathers at S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo, and then to their new home at S. Andrea; and I may add that the tombs of the two Piccolomini Popes were also removed from St. Peter's to the church that now stood on the site of the Piccolomini palace. Early in the eighteenth century the Theatine fathers gave the MSS to Pope Clement XI (1700—21), and they are now in the Vatican. The Greek MSS are classed as *Codices Graeci Pii II* and have been catalogued by H. Stevenson in the same volume as the Greek MSS of Queen Christina (1888); while the Latin are actually placed in the same class as the *Codices Reginae Sueciae Latini*.

Among the latter is the Vatican palimpsest of the Verrines, known as *Regin. 2077*, though it never belonged to Queen Christina. I am assured by Dr. Nogara that it has no external indication of its having ever belonged to any earlier library than that of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini. In answer to my inquiry as to the possibility of its having originally come from Bobbio, I learn that Father Ehrle, the well-known Prefect of the Vatican Library, had himself regarded such a *provenance* as quite possible, although this particular palimpsest had none of the external characteristics of MSS from Bobbio. I may further state that no light is thrown on this point in the articles by O. Seebass in the *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, xiii, 1—12, 57—79, entitled *Handschriften von Bobbio in den Vatikanischen und Ambrosianischen Bibliotheken*. I trust that the question of the *provenance* of the palimpsest will ere long be successfully investigated by the learned officials of the Vatican Library.

J. E. SANDYS.

H H

THE *CODEx NEAPOLITANUS* OF PROPERTIUS.

It may be of interest to the readers of this *Review* to have an expression of opinion about the date and provenance of a classical manuscript from one who, though he has no experience in the textual criticism of classical authors, has handled several thousands of mediaeval manuscripts, and is, or ought to be, fairly familiar with a good many styles of writing.

The *Codex Neapolitanus* of Propertius is (as students are well aware) in the Ducal Library at Wolfenbüttel, and is numbered Gudianus 224. It has been assigned to various dates by various editors, and has often, I believe, been described as a book of Italian origin. My experience of manuscripts leads me to say with confidence that it is of the twelfth century (I believe of the latter part of that century) and that it is certainly not of Italian origin.

On the last page, which was originally blank, there are a number of scribbled inscriptions, some of which throw light on the origin and history of the manuscript. Taking these as they appear on the page, from top to bottom, we have :

(1) At top on left, in a small hand quite possibly Italian and of cent. XV,

propertius ad Juuen . . (ff).

The third word is very doubtful.

(2) On *R.* rather above this in an Italian hand of cent. XV

Mane . . . (?)

(3) Extending nearly across the page, in a pretty Italian hand of Roman type (cent. XV),

Propertii poete clarissimi liber  
..... s explicit.

I believe the penultimate word to be *quartus*.

(4) In another irregular hand, probably also Italian, of cent. XV,

qui stas in vale dulcis amice vale.

There is some doubt about the first letter of the fourth word, but I think it is meant for vale = valle.

(5) In a hand, certainly not Italian, of cent. XIII at latest

goeric (perhaps *goericus*).

(6) A faint drawing of a four-legged beast, the hinder legs clawed : it may be a griffin. Probably of cent. XIII.

(7) On *R.* of this in a largish hand, possibly the same as No. 2, a single word which I read as

Manetta.

It has been read by others, I believe, as Mometti ; and certainly the first *a* is an odd one. Yet it closely resembles the *a* in No. 2.

(8) Extending nearly across the page, written the reverse way up, in a scrawly Italian hand (which might conceivably be the same as that of No. 4), and covering the drawing (No. 6),

Urbis honos patris a(tue?) tue si nomina  
tangunt (?)

Inclitus ipse miles fuit condam qui (?) le  
gere cepit

Ipse tuum opidum te queso s (or f) . . .  
nobis (?)

(9) On *L.* a rough drawing of a seated man or monkey, of cent. XIII.

(10) On *R.* of No. 9, a distich written in a close upright hand of northern aspect (certainly not Italian) and of cent. XII.-XIII.

indole clare cluis presenti deiā futura  
actis precipuis indole clare cluis.

Of these various inscriptions, there are two which are of special importance as throwing light on the history of the MS. No. 7 (and No. 2 might be added) has been interpreted as showing that the book once belonged to Giannozzo Manetti, a very eminent Florentine scholar of the fifteenth century. It would probably be practicable to find specimens of his autograph which might serve to shew that No. 7 was actually written by him. Into this matter I have not had the opportunity of inquiring. It is certain (from No. 3) that the MS. was in Italy in the fifteenth century, and I suppose, from the fact that it is known as the *Codex Neapolitanus*, that Marquard Gude (from whom comes the name Gudianus) bought it at Naples where he certainly acquired a number of MSS.

The inscription No. 5, however, is more illuminative. The single word *goeric*, of which it consists, is the name of a saint of very restricted celebrity. Goericus was bishop of Metz in the seventh century, and his cult is highly local. He occurs in Kalendars of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and the church at Épinal (once Benedictine,



and later collegiate) was as Dom G. Morin tells me, under his invocation, and contained his body; outside a small portion of Eastern France and Lorraine it would be very surprising to find mention of him. I infer with some confidence, from the occurrence of his name in the Propertius, that that manuscript was once domiciled in or near Metz. More than this, the script of the volume agrees very well with the idea that it not only dwelt, but was born in that region. The libraries of Metz were rich in early books, and had a fair share of Latin classics: the *Aulularia* of Plautus is specially mentioned in a fragmentary list of books at St. Vincent's. But no complete ancient catalogue exists of any one of these libraries, nor of that of Épinal, and those of Toul and Verdun (the latter only a partial one) do not help us.

I do not regard the inscription *Goeric* as a press-mark, or anything of the sort. It is merely a *probatio pennae*. The writer by way of trying his pen scribbled a name that was familiar to him. It may have been his own name, or that of a friend. None the less it is a name which would only be borne by some one living within the

very limited sphere of influence of St. Goeric.

The suggestion may perhaps be made that the inscription No. 7 is really *M. mett* . . , and contains the name of Metz (*Mettis*). I do not think this is possible, gratifying as it would no doubt be.

I may add that the oldest of the Leyden MSS. of Propertius (Baehrens's A) which I have also inspected recently, is, in my opinion, certainly not Italian in origin, but most probably French. I should place it early in the fourteenth century: I could even conceive it to have been written in the last years of the thirteenth. I am glad to find myself here unconsciously following the steps of Sir E. Maunde Thompson who, as the Editor has kindly informed me, gave his verdict (*Class. Rev.* ix. 1895, p. 184 n.) in these terms: 'the Vossianus was written about 1300 and just as likely before it as after it.'

As to the text of both the Wolfenbüttel and the Leyden manuscripts we shall expect to be further informed in due time by my friend Mr. O. L. Richmond, who has been making a thorough examination of them.

MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES.

#### AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN SHAKESPEARE AND ARISTOTLE.

'Sense sure you have, else could you not have motion.'—*Hamlet*, Act III. Sc. iv. 71.

The old commentators could make nothing of this passage, and even now what I submit to be the true explanation does not seem to be appreciated. Thus Mr. Israel Gollancz, in the 'Temple' edition, explains '*Motion*' as 'emotion, impulse,' but thinks it worth while to record Warburton's futile emendation '*notion*.' Eight and twenty years ago (see the *Athenæum* February 27th 1875) I ventured to explain the passage by reference to the Aristotelian Psychology. In the *De Anima* (Bk. ii. chs. 2 and 3) we are told that the faculties (*δυνάμεις*) of the soul (which is here co-extensive with the vital principle) are growth, sense (or sensibility), desire, motion, and reason. Plants have only the principle of growth; animals have sense as well, which is the distinguishing faculty of the animal soul. 'Foreven of things which do not move or change their place, provided that they have sense (*αἴσθησις*), we say that they are animals, not only that

they live.' Then comes motion, so that motion (*κίνησις ἢ κατὰ τόπον*) implies sense (*αἴσθησις*), and an animal that has motion must necessarily have sense as well. I take the following from M. Barthélemy-Saint-Hilaire's translation: 'Quant à la série régulière des facultés, voici comment elles se subordonnent entre elles: la nutrition d'abord, sans laquelle les autres ne sont pas: la sensibilité, dans laquelle le toucher peut s'isoler des autres sens, puisqu'il y a des animaux qui n'ont ni la vue, ni l'ouïe, ni l'odorat; la locomotion, qui suppose toujours la sensibilité, mais dont la sensibilité peut fort bien se passer; en fin l'intelligence, qui suppose nécessairement toutes les facultés inférieures.'

Here, I venture to think, is undoubtedly the true explanation of Hamlet's 'Sense sure you have, else could you not have motion' (words, by the way, which are only to be found in the Quartos). But it is not necessary to suppose that Shakespeare had studied the *De Anima* in the original Greek.

No doubt there were many references to this Aristotelian classification in the philosophical works of the time. Thus Bacon, though he does not make mention of Aristotle, is evidently following him when he treats of the affinities and differences of plants and living creatures. (*Nat. Hist. Cent. vii*, § 607). Having dealt with what he calls 'the radical differences,' he writes, 'For the secondary differences, they are as follows: First, plants are all fixed to the earth, whereas all living creatures are severed, and of themselves. [This is by no means so accurate as Aristotle.] Secondly, living

creatures have *local motion*, plants have not. . . . Seventhly, living creatures have *sense*, which plants have not. Eighthly, living creatures have *voluntary motion*, which plants have not.' Again, in the *De Augmentis* (Bk. IV. ch. 3), we read 'Ignorance on this point drove some of the ancient philosophers to suppose that a soul is infused into all bodies without distinction; for they could not conceive how there can be motion at discretion without sense, or sense without a soul.'

G. G. GREENWOOD.

## REVIEWS.

### ADAM'S TEXTS OF GREEK PHILOSOPHY.

*Texts to illustrate a Course of Elementary Lectures on Greek Philosophy after Aristotle.* By J. ADAM, M.A., Hon. LL.D. of Aberdeen (London, Macmillan, 1902). 3s. 6d. net.

THIS slender volume covers a wide subject, Greek philosophy in its decline. Though primarily intended for those who make a special study of ancient philosophy, it is well adapted to the requirements of a wider circle who read the later classical authors as pure literature. They will find here the main facts well arranged: the account of Epicureanism is especially clear and adequate. Dr. Adam very sensibly includes seven or eight extracts from Lucretius, a distinct advantage when we compare the parallel account in Ritter and Preller, for the latest editors of that work pedantically refrain from ever citing the Roman poet in the text and only sparingly refer to him in the notes. Of course such a book loses half its value when severed from the lectures which it served to illustrate. Nor is either the Latin or the Greek always easy reading for the tiro. What, for instance, will he make of the technical terms in Cicero *de finibus* I. 22 (§ 47) or III. 16 sqq. (§§ 157, 158)? Or take § 6, the enigmatical inference of Arcesilas τῶν δοξαστῶν ἔσται ὁ σοφός, Sext. Emp. *adv. Math.* vii, 157. Apparently τῶν δοξαστῶν must be taken actively, as if τῶν δοξαζόντων, though of this the lexicon gives no hint: compare the similar use of ἀδόξαστος (§ 35) by Eusebius, citing

Aristoteles, *praep. evang.* xiv. 18. It has occurred to me that this active use of verbals in -τος may throw light on a well-known difficulty of the Stoic epistemology, viz., the division of φαντασία into καταληπτική and ἀκατάληπτος as laid down in Diog. Laert. vii. 46 (§ 119). It is not at first clear why, when the mind apprehends a real object, the perception should be designated by an adjective in -ικός, whereas, when the mind fails to apprehend a real object, the verbal in -τος is used; the former being ordinarily active, the latter passive, in signification. What we expect, indeed require, in the passage τῆς δὲ φαντασίας τὴν μὲν καταληπτικὴν, τὴν δὲ ἀκατάληπτον is that both adjectives should have a similar meaning. Hence the suggestion that καταληπτική should be taken passively, in order to assimilate it to the assumed passive sense of ἀκατάληπτος; or that Zeno purposely chose an ambiguous word capable of both an active and a passive meaning. In the third edition of his *Grundriss* Zeller, departing from his earlier view, paraphrased καταληπτική thus: die zur κατάληψις zu werden geeignet ist. But what if ἀκατάληπτος is to be taken actively, once more illustrating the flexibility of this verbal form? At all events, the obvious inference from Cicero's language, *Acad. post.* I. 41 is that he found καταληπτόν in the Greek text of the authority he followed, while the whole description and the context fit nothing but what is generally known as καταληπτική φαντασία.

But this is properly a grammatical question. To return to our subject; the selection of extracts is judicious and the

compendium can be heartily commended, its brevity being a conspicuous merit.

R. D. HICKS.

#### WILSON'S *JUVENAL*.

##### *D. Iuni Iuvenalis saturarum libri V.*

Edited with Introduction Commentary on Thirteen Satires and Index by HARRY LANGFORD WILSON, Associate Professor in the Johns Hopkins University. University Publishing Company, New York, Boston, New Orleans, 1903. Pp. lxxviii, 115, 178. 8vo.

If one compares Mr Wilson's edition, as one naturally does compare it, with Mr Duff's, there are two points in which it has the advantage. In the first place the introduction furnishes a useful bibliography<sup>1</sup> of recent work on Juvenal, and the foot-notes contain a large number of references to current philological literature. Secondly, questions of syntax and of metre are treated in the notes and introduction with unusual closeness and diligence: at xiv 207 for instance the scansion *nemō* is remarked as indicating that the verse is not Juvenal's own but taken from an earlier poet; and at xiii 203, where *illi* is used for *sibi* and Messrs Mayor and Friedlaender make no sign, while Mr Duff observes the irregularity but says that he knows no other instance, Mr Wilson cites a pair of parallels. But in that point where Mr Duff's edition excels all commentaries on Juvenal and stands almost alone among school-books,—in the clear perception and candid recognition of difficulties, Mr Wilson's is much inferior. When an intelligent lad finds *Corvinum* in viii 5, and *Corvinum* again in viii 7, he wonders what is the matter, and turns to the notes for aid; but he gets none from Mr Wilson. At xiv 269 he would like to know the meaning and bearing of 'perditus ac *uilis* sacci mercator olentis': Mr Wilson receives him with '*uilis*: Tac. ann. i 40 2 *uilis ipsi salus*,' which is terse and tranquil, but not instructive. He halts at viii 87 sq. 'expectata diu tandem provincia cum te | rectorem accipiat, pone irae frena modumque': 'accipiat: sub-

junctive after *cum* causal,' says Mr Wilson. But that is the very obstacle at which the intelligent lad is halting: *cum* causal does not make sense.<sup>2</sup> The *tamen* of viii 272 is rightly understood, though not clearly explained, by Prof. Mayor; Mr Duff explains it wrongly, but he sees that it wants explaining; Mr Wilson says nothing about it. He is silent again at a passage which I will cite in order to elucidate it, xiv 47-9.

maxima debetur puero reverentia, si quid turpe paras, nec tu pueri contempseris annos, sed peccato obstet tibi filius infans.

'Eine der auffallendsten Tautologien,' says Mr Friedlaender, 'da dasselbe dreimal gesagt wird'; and so also Mr Duff, 'the amount of repetition in these lines is surprising, even for Juvenal.' Mr Wilson shares the error of these scholars (else he would correct it as in duty bound), but he does not share their outspokenness, and leaves the student to infer that *τῷ τανρὸν εἰρεῖν* is too common in Latin to be noteworthy. The verses are misunderstood because it is not observed that *annos* and *infans* are emphatic words: the sense is 'respect your son, and never think that son

<sup>2</sup> Mr Wilson adds indeed in a footnote '*accipiat* is an easier reading'; but knowledge is not to be thrown in loose fragments at the learner's head: it is for an editor to balance alternatives, to prefer the more probable, and to tell the learner why he prefers it. At vii 112 the note runs '*conspuiturque sinus*: a charm to avert the wrath of Nemesis, who punished boastfulness; cf. Petron. 74. Some editors interpret *is spluttered over* (Lewis), gaining support in the prefix (*con-*): the student is left to choose for himself, and to frame for himself the question 'does one, when lying and boasting, splutter more than at other times?' The same failure to think matters out and reach assured conclusions causes other inconveniences of a different sort: at vii 42 Mr Wilson gives the usual and correct explanation of '*solicitas imitatur ianua portas*,' and the student, quite satisfied, is about to pass on, when his eye alights on this footnote: 'J. Jessen, l. l. p. 505, suggests that *portas* is a scribal error for *porcas*.' Surely, thinks he, the editor would never have mentioned this unless there were either some defect in the explanation given or some superiority in the conjecture: which can it be? and what can it be? And then he wastes his time in the attempt to guess.

<sup>1</sup> I notice one error: Buecheler's edition of 1893 is said to be the third edition of Jahn's Juvenal of 1851: it is the third edition of Jahn's Persius and Juvenal of 1868.

too young to be worth respecting: let even the babe in the cradle be a restraint upon your actions.' It is hyperbole, not tautology.

A commentary on Juvenal, written at this date, must needs be for the most part a compilation, and originality is not to be expected nor even perhaps to be desired. Whenever Mr Duff propounds a new interpretation he discards the heed and judgment which he displays elsewhere; and it is nothing to Mr Wilson's disadvantage that his exegesis appears to contain no novelty at all.<sup>1</sup> For the rest, the notes are compact and business-like, and the writing is easy and unpretentious and not overlaid with the favourite American ornaments of metaphor and slang. In short we have now two good school-editions of Juvenal instead of one.

So I will proceed to note some errors. i 6 'necum: for *nondum*', and again on p. xlv 'necum occurs in the sense of simple *nondum*: i 6 *scriptus et in tergo necum finitus Orestes*'. This means that Mr Wilson mistakes the construction, which is correctly explained by Mr Duff. i 52 'Heracleas: sc. *fabulas*'. Certainly not: *Heraclea* is a substantive like *Odyssaea*, Ἡράκλεια, not Ἡρακλεία. i 161 accusator erit, qui verbum dixerit 'hic est': 'qui: the antecedent is *ei* understood', and then in a footnote 'this seems more to the point as well as in closer harmony with Latin idiom than to take the subject of *erit* as the antecedent of *qui*'. What Mr Wilson means by this reference to Latin idiom I do not know, but he cannot mean what he says. I suspect that 'closer harmony with Latin idiom' really signifies 'sharper discord with English idiom'. iii 23 sq. res hodie minor est here quam fuit, atque eadem cras | deteret exiguis aliquid: 'deteret: strictly a transitive verb, used here as a reflexive (= *se deteret*)'. What imaginable sense or construction has 'eadem se deteret exiguis aliquid'? *deteret*, by a common Latin idiom, means *deteri patietur*: so, to take the first instance that occurs to me, Prop. iv 3 27 'dicetis et macie uultum tenuisse'; and so in Juvenal viii 247 'frangebant uertice uitem'. Mr Wilson seems to have been led astray by a confused note of Mr Buecheler's in Friedlaender's edition. viii 180 in Lucanos aut Tusca ergastula mittas: 'Lucanos: sc. *agros*, "your Lucanian farm"; the masculine plural without a substantive is common in

<sup>1</sup> His explanation of x 189 is almost the same as Mr Mayor's, and surely wrong.

this sense'. It is non-existent in this sense: *Lucanos* means the Lucanian folk and thence the Lucanian countryside. Haupt opusc. iii p. 578 (who does not however supply *agros* in these phrases) is corrected by Lucian Mueller Hor. arm. ii 18 14.

The following are mistakes of detail or merely negligent writing. i 1 'nunquamne: the addition of *-ne* to negative words suggests the affirmative'. No; the negative itself does that part of the business: 'haec ego non agitem?' suggests the affirmative without the help of *-ne*. iii 302 'nec... metuas: on the use of *nec* for *ne*, see § 77', where we read 'in prohibitions *ne* is rarely used, its place being often taken by *nec*'. *nec* is never used for *ne*: when employed in prohibitions it does not cease to be a conjunction. iv 33 uendere municipes... siluros: 'municipes forbids the thought of Crispinus' former life in Egypt'. On the contrary, it suggests that thought: I know what Mr Wilson means, but he has failed to say it. viii 148 'P reads *multo sufflamine consul*, emended by Buecheler'. It was not emended by Buecheler, nor by any one else. But this false statement has been made so often that I am not surprised to see Mr Wilson repeating it again on p. xxviii. xiii 95 'dimidium crus: the loss of a leg'. Not unless *crus* means a pair of legs. xv 17 'abicit: in compounds of *iacio* Ovid... was the first to treat the initial *i* as a vowel'. Everyone treated it as a vowel, or they would have broken their jaws: not even the conquerors of the world could pronounce *abicit* as a disyllable. Here again I know Mr Wilson's meaning, but his words do not contain it. p. xxix 'the archetype of the Bodleianus': so Mr Owen in his preface speaks of 'archetypus Pithoeani', and indeed it seems as if Anglo-Saxons could hardly write upon textual criticism without using this meaningless form of words. What would be thought of a mathematician who talked about the least common multiple of 5?

If I here turn aside from the ἰδιὸν to the κοινόν, and comment on certain mistakes in which Mr Wilson has the company of his contemporaries, it is because these errors seem to be spreading apace. i 147-9 nil erit ulterius quod nostris moribus addat | posteritas, eadem facient cupientque minores, | omne in praecipiti uitium stetit. utere uelis, | totos pande sinus. *in praecipiti* used to be translated 'at its zenith', 'auf dem Gipfel'; to which it is justly objected that *in praecipiti* does not



possess this meaning. Therefore the words are now rendered 'vice always stands on a steep incline', gnomic aorist (Richards, Duff, Wilson). But firstly, vice does not *stand* on the incline, it *slips*; 'uitiorum natura procliuvis' says Seneca. And this is actually what our commentators take *stare* to imply, for they add 'and hence soon reaches the bottom', which is just what it can never do so long as it *stat*. Secondly, granting for the sake of argument that *in praecipiti stetit* means much the same as *praeceps ruit*, and granting further, what is quite false, that the progress of vice is usually headlong and not gradual,—*ποῖον τοῦτο πάγκοινον λέγεις*; What has this gnome to do with the context? 'Hence' say the commentators 'our posterity can go no further'. Our posterity? If 'vice always stands on a steep incline', it stood on a steep incline in our grandfathers' day; 'hence it soon reached the bottom', and 'hence their posterity could go no further'. There is no connexion or relation between this sapient saw and the culmination of vice at the moment when Juvenal was writing. The old interpretation did at least make sense, and it was not far wrong. 'omne in praecipiti uitium stetit' means 'every vice has come to a dead halt at the cliff's edge'; has reached, as we might say, the end of its tether; has gone as far as nature suffers it to go.

i 26-30 cum uerna Canopi | Crispinus Tyrias umero reuocante lacernas | uentilet aestiuum digitis sudantibus aurum | nec sufferre queat maioris pondera gemmae, | difficile est saturam non scribere. 'per luxuriam' says the scholiast 'anulos aestiuos et hiemales inuenerat': Crispinus airs a light summer ring on his sweating fingers, unable to sustain the weight of a heavier one. What could be more obvious, more apt, more like Crispinus, 'aegrae solaeque libidine fortes deliciae'? And Dracontius saw the meaning (how could he miss it?) and reproduced it thus: 'qui solet aestiuum membris sudantibus ostrum | poscere deposito confractus murice denso, | cuius et in digitis non sedit crassius aurum, | et, licet exiguae, non ferret pondera gemmae', laud. dei iii 56-9. Instead of which Messrs Gercke and Duff and Wilson, following Haeckermann, declare that *aestiuum* does not imply a special ring, but is adverbial and only signifies 'in summer'; and from the next verse they extort the meaning that Crispinus wears a very heavy ring, so heavy that he could not bear a heavier. And why

this stern endeavour to dodge the plain sense of the words? Because there is no evidence that the Romans wore lighter rings in summer than in winter! Of course the Romans did not: it was a single Egyptian who did. The foppery was insufferable precisely because it was unparalleled. An early device of Mr Disraeli's for attracting notice was to have two canes in use, one for the morning, one for the afternoon. Suppose someone contested the truth of this story 'because there is no evidence that the English used different canes for afternoon and morning': what would be said of him? That he argued like a classical scholar.

iii 4 sq. gratum litus amoeni | secensus. 'secensus': genitive of specification or definition': so also Mayor ('epexegetic gen.') and Duff. The genitive of specification or definition is incapable, by its very nature, of having an ornamental<sup>1</sup> adjective attached to it. *abietis arbor* is Latin: *proceras abietis arbor* is no tongue at all; the Latin would be *proceras*. Mr Duff says on the other hand that *amoeni secensus* is not a genitive of quality, because 'a noun, to which the latter is attached, does not take an adjective' (*gratum litus*). Usually it does not, but sometimes it does, as in Hor. serm. i l 33 'paruola . . . magni formica laboris' and Sil. xiv 443 sq. 'mollia crura superbi . . . gressus' and Iuu. xv 76 'uicina . . . umbrosae Tentyra palmarum'.

v 87 pallidus . . . caulis: 'boiling in a solution of saltpetre made it green'; Mart. xiii 17 *ne tibi pallentes moueant fastidia caules, nitrata uiridis brassica fiat aqua*: so also Friedlaender and Duff. But saltpetre will not turn cabbages green, and *nitrum* is not saltpetre.

x 84 sq. quam timeo, uictus ne poenas exigat Aiax | ut male defensus. 'Aiax: i.e. Tiberius'. Aiax, *uictus* and *male defensus*, means Tiberius, *victor* and *optime defensus*! Could any explanation be less plausible than this? not to mention that Aiax, in the *armorum iudicium*, was neither *male defensus* nor *bene defensus* nor *defensus* at all, but conducted his own case. Yet this interpretation is adopted by Friedlaender and Duff and now by Mr. Wilson, who makes the following unfortunate attempt to palliate it: 'this parallel, though it seems absurd to us, was less absurd to them, because the *armorum iudicium* was a regular theme for debate'. *Because*? Then if I compare Napoleon at St. Helena to David dancing before the

<sup>1</sup> I use this term to exclude examples like *causa terroris repentini*, where the adjective adds precision.

Ark, this parallel, though absurd to foreigners, will be less absurd, I suppose, to Englishmen, because Englishmen read their bibles. I should have thought that the more a man knew about the *armorum iudicium* and II Sam. vi 14-23 the more absurd would these comparisons appear to him.

xi 3-8 *omnis | conuictus thermae stationes, omne theatrum | de Rutilo. nam dum ualida ac iuuenalia membra | sufficiunt galeae, dumque ardet sanguine, fertur | non cogente quidem sed nec prohibente tribuno | scripturus leges et regia uerba lanistae. fertur scripturus* used to be interpreted 'they say he is about to subscribe'; but now Messrs Friedlaender and Duff and Wilson insist that it means 'he rushes on a career which will some day end in his subscribing'. Yet bankrupts do not necessarily turn gladiators (some of them 'fas esse putant curam sperare cohortis'); nor is it possible to divine beforehand what action the tribune will take; nor is mere prodigality enough to make Rutilus the universal theme of conversation.

xi 206 '*sextam*: sc. *horam*; this was about noon in April, growing later as summer advanced, since the solar day was divided into twelve equal parts'. I do not know

which is more overwhelming, the statement, or the reason alleged in support of it. Mr Duff's note, which seems to be the source of Mr Wilson's, is little less strange.

p. xxxviii '*nisi* is used for *quam* after a comparative in vi 580 f. *capiendo nulla uidetur | aptior hora cibo nisi quam dederit Petosiris*': so C. F. W. Mueller, Friedlaender, Duff. But surely it falls far short of the required sense to say that no hour of the day is thought *fitter* for taking a meal *than* that which astrology has assigned. That argues no profound belief in astrology. The words mean that no hour of the day is thought the right hour (*fitter* than others, Verg. georg. i 286 *nona fugae melior*) for taking a meal, except the hour which astrology has assigned.

Lastly a detail of punctuation. Messrs Buecheler, Friedlaender, Duff, and Wilson all print i 140 sq. thus: '*quanta est gula quae sibi totos | ponit apros, animal propter conuiuia natum?*'—as if Juvenal were asking for information about the magnitude of the gluttony. The old editors rightly marked an exclamation, and Mr Friedlaender himself at Mart. v 70 5 prints '*o quanta est gula, centies comesse!*'

A. E. HOUSMAN.

#### BURY'S LIBRARY AND ABRIDGED HISTORIES OF GREECE.

*A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great.* By J. B. BURY. Macmillan, 1902. Two vols. Pp. 502, 534. 25s. net.

THIS is a 'Library Edition' of Prof. Bury's history, the form being less excellent than that of the edition of 1900 for the learner at school or at the university, but better adapted to the use of the more advanced student. The pictures are gone—maps and plans remaining—and we have in their stead larger print and thicker paper and, as the chief gain, a more abundant provision of references and other notes. In the body of the book there is a certain amount of new matter. The discoveries in Crete have given the opportunity for very interesting additions concerning Cnossus and its palace, the *labrys*, the Dictæan cave, and Minos,—the human king, or god, or both (I. pp. 10, 18 ff. 34 f.). The account of the years 421 to 418 B.C. has been expanded and in part re-written (II. pp. 2-6). There is a new

paragraph on Herodotus (I. p. 282 f.), and more is said by way of comparison between him and Thucydides in I. p. 433, where remarks are added on the method of Thucydides, and particularly on the value and the treatment of the speeches. Another paragraph (I. p. 380 f.) deals with the system of 'liturgies' in connexion with the lack of a permanent treasury of state, while on p. 446 the less fully organized administration, as compared with that of a modern state, is pointed out to shew how largely continuity of policy depended upon the 'demagogue' at Athens. Other additions will be found in I. pp. 259, 261, besides the mention of the Athenian cavalry at Tanagra (I. p. 386) of which Professor Bury speaks in his prefatory note. Small alterations have been made throughout the book: marginal notes have been added or modified, and here and there a statement has been put in a more cautious form or changed in view of new knowledge. The paragraphs

on 'The Greeks and the older religion' (ed. 1 pp. 52 f.) are omitted, while much new information and conjecture concerning the pre-Hellenic inhabitants of Greece is given in the 'Notes and References' at the end of the book (e.g. notes on I. pp. 37, 67, 108). It is in this part that we gain most by the new edition. There is still great moderation in the amount of notes, but in place of 33 smaller, we have 59 larger pages, and the more advanced student will find the additions of great value. An account is now given of Professor Ridgeway's views on the Pelasgians and Achaeans and on the Mycenaean culture (notes on I. pp. 8, 44, 48, 173); the opinions and comments of Mr. Macan (edition of Herodotus IV.—VI.) have also a prominent place (see e.g. notes on I. pp. 164, 213, 220, 228, 308). Among other notes may be mentioned that on Cleon's imitation of Pericles (on I. p. 455), that on the revolution of 411 B.C. (on II. p. 43) and that on the Thebans and the peace of Callias (on II. p. 139).

A few alterations have been made in the spelling of Greek names: 'Cnossus' (e.g. I. p. 10), 'Calaurea' (I. p. 187), 'Pheidias' (e.g. I. p. 401) appear in place of 'Cnosus', 'Calaurea', 'Phidias'; 'Hicetas' (II. p. 254 ff.) now stands where the *k* was formerly allowed. But it is still difficult to discern any system. The somewhat uncertain rule of using Latin spelling in more familiar, Greek spelling in less familiar, words may account for the difference of treatment in 'Exekias' and 'Heracles' (I. p. 213), in 'Pisistratus' (e.g. I. p. 202) and 'Pheidias'; but it seems an insufficient clue to such forms as 'Colonus Agoraios' (note on I. p. 403) and 'Philaidas' (I. p. 200), or to the divergence between 'Heracles' and 'Asklēpios' (II. p. 322). Professor Bury is not afraid of the unfamiliar, if it appears to him good in other respects, and he might have done much to make a more consistent spelling familiar to present and future learners; but in this matter it would seem that he has, like the Athenians (I. p. 467), allowed his 'progressive instinct' to be 'defeated by conservative prejudices.'

*History of Greece for Beginners.* By J. B. BURY, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. Macmillan and Co. (and New York: The Macmillan Co.). 1903. Pp. 472, 3s. 6d.

THIS is an abridgment of Prof. Bury's longer history, the matter and the words being for the most part taken over from the earlier work. (There are some simplifications of the wording besides the changes made necessary by omissions.) The process of mere cutting down is not an ideal way of producing a history for beginners, but the work—though not done by Prof. Bury himself—has been in the main well and carefully performed. Only occasionally have I noticed statements that suffer from the removal of their surroundings. (On p. 147 a road 'continues northward' without having previously started in any direction. Euryalus appears abruptly on p. 264: it would have been better to choose 'If the wall had been finished, the attempt of Gylippus would never have been made' rather than the other half of the sentence. On p. 354 the mention of Athens should not have been omitted from the sentence 'One of these, Argaeus, was assisted by Athens with a strong fleet.' On p. 300 'The Long Walls' in the shortened version will naturally be thought to be those of Athens.)

The new matter is nearly all in the first chapter, where interesting additions have been made concerning Cnossus, the *labrys*, and the Dictaeon cave (pp. 5, 10f, 19) and references to Cnossus introduced on pp. 13, 16, 35. There is also a little that is new on pp. 254f, where the account of the dealings of Alcibiades with the Peloponnesian powers has been re-modelled.

In a later edition it would be an improvement to add marks of quantity more liberally in the beginners' book. Of the maps, plans, and other illustrations, which are so valuable a feature in the larger work, a satisfactory number are reproduced in the smaller; the Chronological Table has been adapted, and there is a good index, including some words that are not in the index of the larger book.

M. ALFORD.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

SITZLER'S NOTICE OF HARRISON'S *THEOGNIS*.

Among the *Summaries of Periodicals* in the last *Review* (p. 427) we read:—"E. Harrison, *Studies in Theognis* (J. Sitzler). 'Has brought forward nothing of value to forward the study of Theognis.'" The reporter's translation does injustice both to Mr. Sitzler and to me. Mr. Sitzler's review of my book is unintelligent; and after what I had said about him I scarcely

hoped to find in him a warm admirer: but he is not quite foolish enough to say that I have done nothing to forward the study of Theognis. 'Zur Förderung der Theognis-Frage' are his words. The 'Theognidean question' is a different matter from the study of Theognis.

E. HARRISON.

Trinity College, Cambridge.

## ARCHAEOLOGY.

HADACZEK'S GREEK AND ETRUSCAN  
EAR ORNAMENTS.

*Der Ohrschmuck der Griechen und Etrusker.*  
VON KARL HADACZEK. Wien, 1903.  
Alfred Hölder. 5.20 mk.

THIS is a very useful contribution to the history of ancient gold ornaments, a subject which stands greatly in need of a comprehensive treatment, though there is no lack of articles scattered among the various periodicals. The task of writing the history of ancient jewellery is one of peculiar difficulty, inasmuch as in comparatively few instances are we in possession of authentic information as to the circumstances which attended the discovery of the various objects. As a rule the date of a gold ornament has to be determined by considerations of style and by a careful comparison with the types of jewellery indicated upon statues, terracottas, engraved mirrors, coins and similar objects which can with confidence be assigned to a particular period.

The author of the present dissertation has made a careful study of the various forms of earrings (to use a convenient term, which must be understood to include far more than mere rings) which appear upon Greek and Etruscan works of art. In particular an excellent use is made of coins, which are especially valuable for establishing the dates at which certain types prevailed.

It can be readily understood that the

progress of the art of jewellery cannot be traced satisfactorily without reference to numerous points of detail. All that can be done here is to give the briefest outline of the history of Greek and Etruscan earrings as presented in the above dissertation.

The earliest types of Greek earrings are those furnished by the discoveries on the sites of Troy and Mycenae and also by the results of the excavations conducted of late years in Cyprus. The principal forms yielded by these sites are the 'basket'-shaped earrings with series of pendants, spirals which are exceedingly common, and varieties of the 'boat' or crescent-shape. The next division is that of the early Greek Period—roughly from the seventh to the fifth century B.C. In this period the disk in the form of a rosette, an ornament which plays so conspicuous a part in the best Greek jewellery, first makes its appearance. Spiral earrings are very common, the ends showing a continuous development in ornamentation from the simple disks seen on the Melian earrings to the finely modelled female heads of the fourth century. Of Ionic origin are the open rings with decorations, usually in the form of globule-clusters, soldered on below. [This form, however, appears in the primitive jewellery from Cyprus.] A well-marked progress from the simple to the complicated can here be traced. The oldest examples come from the Greek colonies of Sicily, where they are found with Corinthian vases of the seventh and sixth centuries. It seems probable that



the Homeric ἔρματα τρίγλῃνα μορφόετα were of this type. The 'boat'-shaped earrings are also common at this period; a peculiar development of them is seen in the elongated earrings from Cyprus with overlapping ends. Akin to these are the Phoenician earrings, which sometimes have double pendants, e.g. first a bird and then a basket-pendant holding a pyramid of minute gold globules.

The fourth century marks the culminating point of the Greek jeweller's art. It is not so much that completely new types are invented as that the older types are employed with consummate skill and in the most exquisite combinations. The disk, the pyramid, and the vase are continually occurring, but generally with the addition of a series of pendent chains. The prevailing type of earring may be seen on many coins of the fourth century, e.g. upon those of Elis and Loeris; cf. Brit. Mus. Cat. of coins of Central Greece, Pl. i, 3-7. To this century belongs that magnificent form of earring, which consists of the disk, from which hangs a complicated arrangement of intersecting chains and pendent vases. The best known examples of this type have been found in the S. Russian tombs (see *Comptes Rendus*, 1865, Pl. ii). To the same period must be assigned the best of the earrings with figure pendants, where the figure is sometimes found alone with the disk, but more often, perhaps, in combination with hanging vases. The favourite figures are those of Nike and Eros, but several others occur; especially noteworthy are the animal-figures, covered with white, or, rarely, coloured enamel. Eros enjoys an extraordinary popularity as a figure for earring pendants, but the majority of these earrings date from Hellenistic or Roman times. Another very common fourth century earring is that of smooth gold or twisted gold wire ending in the head of an animal, e.g. lion, antelope, etc., or in some cases in a human head.

Similar types continue to occur in the third century, but with an ever increasing use of precious stones or coloured glass. This tendency is a marked characteristic of Hellenistic jewellery.

In the section on Etruscan jewellery those forms, which may be said to be peculiar to the Etruscans, are first treated. These include the 'orecchini a baule' or coffer-shaped earrings, which starting from the simple plate of metal bent into semi-cylindrical shape, are gradually elaborated. During the sixth and fifth centuries

B.C. Etruscan jewellery is marked by its extraordinary fineness of workmanship, filigree and granulation being brought to the highest pitch of excellence. From the fourth century Greek types begin to oust the native Etruscan forms, but the taste of the Greek jeweller is lacking, and the exquisite fineness characteristic of early Etruscan gold ornaments gradually falls off.

The author of the dissertation was unable to visit the British Museum and study its collection of gold ornaments. Some types of earrings, which are to be met with there and which are not included among those given in the work under consideration may be mentioned. By an interesting development of the type seen in Fig. 28 small volutes of wire are added on either side of the globule-cluster in a pair of earrings from Maroni in Cyprus; the effect is greatly enhanced thereby. This earring must be considerably earlier in date than the seventh century. The British Museum possesses some fine earrings of the best period; one of the neatest and most effective (from Eretria) has the flower-shaped disk with the 'boat' below, while between flower and boat is a small Siren. The ends of the boat are masked by small rosettes and four very delicately wrought shells are suspended from the body of it. The effect of the whole is admirable. From Cyme in Aeolis comes a set of earrings the chief feature of which is the arrangement of the pendent chains which are passed through a series of cylindrical gold beads and end in gold flowers. A similar arrangement is seen in necklaces from the same place. A striking pair of earrings from Tarentum tend towards the florid style. The main portion of them is formed by a 'boat' covered with filigree work; above is a mask in relief, while below seven clusters of rather large globules are soldered. It is interesting, in view of the statement in Pollux v. 16. 97 that certain earrings were known as κερταυπιδες, to find in the British Museum a fragmentary earring with remains of a centaur in white porcelain. The main portion consists of a semi-circular shield with ruby inset. Above, on either side, are minute dolphins, and by the sides of the centaur chains with beads of white glass are suspended. This earring was found at Vulci.

The book is provided with 157 excellent illustrations and a short, but useful, index.

F. H. MARSHALL.

## ABBOTT'S MACEDONIAN FOLKLORE.

*Macedonian Folklore.* By G. F. ABBOTT, B.A., Emmanuel College, Cambridge. University Press. xi + 372 pp. 10s. 6d.

It is surprising that so little attention has been given in this country to modern Greek. In Paris, the study of Modern Greek has a place in the excellent school of Living Oriental Languages, and the name of Legrand is sufficient to show how seriously the study is taken. Germany has given us Passow's excellent collection of folk-poetry, and a number of other works, amongst which special honour is due to B. Schmidt's *Leben der Neugriechen*, a work which well deserves to be completed and brought up to date. But in England there are no facilities for the study, no good collections of books in the public libraries, hardly any one who knows or cares anything about the matter. Thousands of travellers visit the country, but few get beyond their dragoon; those that do, mostly fall into the hands of the official and bookish classes, who will tell them that modern Greek is a vulgar thing, only just being 'purified' by statesmen and journalists, who delight to fill their pages with words which have not been spoken for a thousand years and inflexions which have been in the grave longer still, very much as if the editor of the *Times* said *headod* for head, and resuscitated a few Anglo-Saxon case-endings. But the real modern Greek is a very different thing from the newspaper jargon: it has grace and delicacy, transparent clearness, not a little music, and above all a dramatic quality which is quite unsurpassed. Mr. Abbott's description of the story-teller Kyr Khaidhevto has recalled to me many a delightful hour spent in listening to folk-tales like his, recited with such vivid feeling and dramatic action that the attention could never flag. It may be hoped that this book is a sign that scholars are likely to pay more attention to this language in future. Even from a philological point of view it has more than usual interest. If some competent scholar, for instance, were to investigate the language of the goatherds and mountaineers in the Greek islands, where outside influences hardly come, many an ancient word or phrase might be brought to light, some perhaps like the word *τὰ δῦσαλα* which Mr. Abbott records

(dangerous places in the sea) not recorded in literature. It is only necessary to mention the survival of *Κόρακα* as the name of the rock in Ithaca about which the ravens used to flock in Homer's day, preserved by the island goatherds, to show what unexpected light these trifles may bring.

From this point of view, I cannot help regretting that Mr. Abbott did not so arrange his work as to keep the Greek all together in the Appendix, leaving the English in the body of the work for those who wanted it. As it is, he is a little arbitrary in his method. Most of the essays, couplets, riddles, and sayings are given in Greek and English in the text; to the Appendix are relegated two stories, extracts from books of charms and folk-medicine, and a selection of riddles *Anglice non reddenda*. This method, moreover, involves a considerable waste of space, which might have been utilized to print some of Mr. Abbott's collections which he has kept back for one reason or another, sometimes merely for their length. Mr. Abbott might also have summarized in his index the survivals from antiquity which he records: amongst which are—a Swallow-song (18), *τὰ ἐξ ἀμάξης* (56), the association of the Pleiades with birds, (cp. Aleman xxiii. 60) (70), the luck of *παῖς ἀμφιθαλής* (125), the Fates and Nereids, Charon and his penny (193), the fatal letter (132) known from the story of Bellerophon (and indeed of Hamlet), ideas of the next world which remind us of Pindar (210), well-spirits (255), the rescue of Andromeda (260), echoes of Theocritus, (107 etc.), and others. Mr. Abbott's translations are faithful and often tasteful; I have only noted one or two doubtful points which may be due to a loose paraphrase. On p. 343 there is no word in the Greek for 'gold,' or on p. 55 for 'flower'; there is no allusion to olive-pressing on p. 50; there seems to be no reason for connecting *μακαρία* and *μακαρίτης* with 'the ancient *αἱμακονία* 'offerings of blood' (203!); on p. 158 the eye and the hook seem to be transposed, the eye being obviously the female symbol. Ogygeia (248) and *χαρᾶς* (166) appear to be misprints.

It should also be added that Mr. Abbott's explanations are not always tenable; and that his parallels are often not to the point, nor are they chosen on any settled principle, but at random (as he tells us) from the books he happens to

know. We could have dispensed with most of these.

I do not propose to discuss in detail the contents of the book, which are very miscellaneous in character. They include the customary celebrations of fasts, feasts, and sacred seasons, the ceremonial of weddings and burials, superstitions connected with the birth of children; charms, spells and incantations, divination and sorcery; tales, legends, riddles, and songs. None of the love-distiches are as good as the best in Passow, but some are pretty; several of the songs are good, and there are some excellent stories.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

#### GRUPPE'S GREEK MYTHOLOGY AND RELIGION.

*Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* by DR. O. GRUPPE (*Handbuch der kl. Altertumswissenschaft*, 27 Halbband). Munich, 1903. 8°. 7 mk.

DR. GRUPPE'S treatise on Greek Mythology and Religion is hard to read, harder still to review. In the second volume now published what seems to us an inherent defect in method becomes inconveniently apparent. Dr. Gruppe divides his whole subject under three headings: (1) Topography, *i.e.* the most important centres of local cultus; (2) the most important mythological cycles; (3) the history of religion. Why this particular classification was adopted we are not told, but its inconveniences are obvious; anything important has to be repeated twice if not thrice; information must be sought under two and often under three heads. We are in a perpetual state of cross references, and every author who has treated a complex subject knows the temptation cross references present, and how easy it is by referring backwards and forwards to avoid facing a difficulty.

Another serious defect in Dr. Gruppe's method is that practically the whole gist of his work is in the notes, which occupy on an average far more than half each page, and frequently contain the most valuable suggestions. In fact the text alone is barely intelligible and is little more than a thin thread on which the notes are strung together. Notes are for many German and some English writers losing their proper function altogether as means of exact reference; they are becoming mere shunting

places for ill-considered material, or for what is only half relevant, and yet the author fears to omit. What is worth saying at all is almost always worth putting in the text or is matter for an excursus.

But though we may quarrel with the method we are thankful for the accumulation of material. Dr. Gruppe's treatise is too formless to be called a book, but it will supply the material for many books. To take one example. The section devoted to 'the Orphics' (pp. 1028-1041) which we have examined in detail contains absolutely nothing new and deals with such important sources as the Orphic inscribed tablets in cursory and second-hand fashion—the originals have obviously not been examined—but, none the less, within the compass of a few pages, Dr. Gruppe presents to any one *about to begin the study of Orphism* a complete, or very nearly complete, conspectus of material. For such a presentation we may well be thankful; our only regret is that—as it seems to us prematurely—some attempt is made to work up the material. A treatise like that of Dr. Gruppe's may be possible fifty years hence, when, in the light of recent discoveries and recent modifications in method, the whole field has been mapped out afresh; at present it is foredoomed to failure. The notes may live while the text perishes.

JANE E. HARRISON.

#### MONTHLY RECORD.

##### GREECE.

*Thermos, Aetolia*.—Five painted terracotta metopes belonging to the archaic temple of Apollo have been put together from fragments and are now in a fairly complete condition. The objects represented are (1) a Gorgoneion. (2) A huntsman walking to r. with bow in r. hand and a pole over the l. shoulder; from the pole are suspended a deer and a wild boar. (3) Perseus fleeing to the r., wearing *pilos* and winged sandals and carrying the head of Medusa in a wallet. (4) Two women facing each other and bending downwards; over the head of the woman on the r. is the word  $\omega\omicron\iota\Delta\gamma\eta\lambda\chi$ . The bottom of the metope is broken away, so that it is impossible to make out what the women are engaged upon. (5) Three figures seated to r. dressed in elaborate garments; one has both arms raised, the others hold each a *phiale*.

The colours employed are brownish red, clay-colour, and purple. Black is used for the hair, beard, and eye-brows, white for the flesh in female figures. The style of the paintings shows Corinthian influence, as do the letters of the inscription. The date of these metopes is probably to be placed at the beginning of the sixth century B.C.<sup>1</sup>

*Athens.*—Towards the end of 1901 an archaic stelè was found in the S.W. part of the city near the church of S. Athanasios. The stelè lay amid a heap of stones, possibly remnants of the city wall. The lower part is damaged, but the upper is well preserved; the marble is probably Parian. On it is represented a nude youth in the archaic running attitude to r., wearing a helmet. The arms are bent and the hands rest upon the chest; the head droops to l., back over the r. shoulder. The figure in all probability represents a *ἀπλοδρόμος* and is a fine example of archaic work of about 520 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

## ITALY.

*Rome.*—As the result of excavations carried on since August 1902 fresh fragments belonging to the Ara Pacis have been discovered. This building was erected in the Campus Martius in honour of Augustus in 13 B.C. on his return from the Germanic and Gaulish wars; cf. *Mon. Anc.* Ob res in Germania Gallisque provinciis prospere gestas S.P.Q.R. aram Paci Augustae constituit pro reditu meo consecravique ad Campum Martium. The monument, as we learn from the calendars of Amiternum and Praeneste took five years to build (13–9 B.C.). The new fragments found include portions of the lower sculptured band of the enclosure wall. A peculiar feature is the design of lizards and frogs lurking under wreaths etc.; Prof. Lanciani thinks that this may have reference to the names of the architects, Sauros and Batrachos.<sup>3</sup>

F. H. MARSHALL.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NUMISMATIC SUMMARIES.

*American Journal of Archaeology.* VII. No. 3. 1903.

1. The cave at Vari.

(1) C. H. Weller: Description, Excavation, and History. (Two plates; ten cuts.)

<sup>1</sup> *Εφημ. Ἀρχ.* 1903, pp. 71 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 44 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Athenæum*, 31st Oct. 1903.

A cave known for many years at Vari in Attica, recently explored (1901), containing a shrine of Apollo, a carved seated figure, and a relief of a stone-cutter, Archidemos; apparently in use for worship of Apollo, Pan, and Nymphs from 600 to 150 B.C.

(2) M. E. Dunham: Inscriptions.

Publishes twenty, twelve of which are new, with facsimiles; several relate to Archidemos the stone-cutter.

(3) Miss I. C. Thallon: Marble Reliefs. (Seven plates.)

All belong to class of votive reliefs with Hermes, Pan, and Nymphs.

(4) Miss L. S. King: Vases, Terra-cottas, Bronzes, etc. (Two plates.)

Pottery mostly late R.F., some with dedicatory inscriptions; terra-cottas extending from 5th cent. to Graeco-Roman times, statuette-vases common; subjects include Pan, Selenos, Demeter, Aphrodite, and Tanagra types.

(5) Miss A. Baldwin: Coins.

All bronzes of late Imperial date, except one Athenian of 2nd cent. B.C.

(6) S. E. Bassett: Terra-cotta Lamps. (Three plates.)

All late Roman, transitional to Christian; some of a type peculiar to Greek soil, with makers' names.

2. T. W. H.: Excavations at Corinth, 1903. Preliminary Report.

3. C. E. Norton: The Founding of the School at Athens.

4. Archaeological News.

H. B. W.

## Numismatic Chronicle. Part 2, 1903.

G. Macdonald. 'The numeral letters on Imperial coins of Syria.' A critical list of these numerals which occur during the second century A.D. at the cities of Commagene, Cyrrhastica, Chalcidice, and Seleucia. Macdonald makes out a good case for supposing them to indicate months: it is somewhat curious—though not without parallel—that the month of issue should be indicated and not the year also.

In the *Bulletin international de Numismatique*, part 3, 1903, Tacchella publishes a bronze coin (fourth cent. B.C.) of Cabyle in Thrace. This is the third specimen only that has come to light. The types are *obv.* Head of Apollo. *rev.* KABYA-HNQN Artemis huntress with torch and patera; in field, club.

## Revue numismatique. Part 2, 1903.

E. Poncelet. 'Oboles de Marseille.' Some obols from a recent find made at Valence (Drôme).—A Blanchet. 'L'influence de l'art Grec dans le nord de la Gaule Belgique.' The Gaulish (and British) imitations of the gold staters of Philip of Macedon are well known: less known are the very interesting specimens for which the fine gold staters of Tarentum served as prototypes (Head of Amphitrite. *rev.* Dioscuri, etc.). The original Tarental staters may, says Blanchet, have passed from Italy into Belgium 'par la voie commerciale, indiquée dans Strabon, c'est-à-dire par Marseille, le Rhône, la Saône et la Seine.' Various bronze coins of Gaul with a cock on the reverse are traced back by Blanchet to the coins of Cales in Campania which bear this type.—R. Mowat. 'Contributions à la théorie des contremarques Romaines.'—E. Babelon. 'L'iconographie monétaire de Julien l'Apostat.' An elaborate study



of the portraiture of Julian especially as represented on coins. Bernoulli and others have been inclined to dismiss the coin effigies as merely conventional. Babelon disputes this view and shows that when we arrange the coins chronologically and according to their mint-places, the iconographic evidence is seen to be of considerable importance. The paper is illustrated by four plates of coins and by an enlarged reproduction of an intaglio of Julian acquired by the Cabinet des Médailles in 1901. *Mélanges* (p. 164). A very curious contemporary account of a find of obols of Massilia in A.D. 1366 at Tourves.

**Journal international d'arch. numismatique.** (Athens), parts 1 and 2, 1903.

H. B. E. Fox. 'Colonia Laus Julia Corinthus.' Additions to the writer's former article on the colonial coins of Corinth.—J. Rouvier. 'Numismatique des villes de la Phénicie. *Tripolis*.'—G. Macdonald. 'A new Syrian Era.' Rhosus a town in Seleucis and Pieria is usually supposed to have employed two eras on its coins (1) the Actian, B.C. 31, (2) the Caesarian, B.C. 48. Macdonald, who publishes a coin of Caracalla in the Hunter collection, shows that the only era that prevailed at Rhosus was one that began B.C. 39. In this year, as Macdonald points out, Ventidius Bassus, the legate of Antony, cleared Cilicia and Syria of the Parthians and crushed Labienus.—K. M. Konstantopoulou. *Βυζαντινά μολυβδόβουλλα* (continued). Lead seals in the National Museum, Athens.—G. Dattari. 'Notes inédites de V. Langlois.' Unpublished MS. annotations on Töchon d'Annecy's work on the coinage of the Nomes of Egypt.—S. A. Xanthoudides. *Χριστιανικαὶ ἀρχαιοτήτες ἐκ Κρήτης*. Chiefly leaden seals.

—A. J. B. Wace. 'An unpublished Pergamene tetradrachm.' Mr. Wace gives his reasons for supposing that the obverse presents us with a portrait of Attalus I. King of Pergamus, and not with the usual head of the founder Philetaerus. I have not seen the original coin, but judging from the photograph I cannot help thinking that we are only dealing with a variety of the Philetaerus head. The head on Mr. Wace's coin bears, in fact, considerable resemblance to a tetradrachm described in Brit. Mus. Cat. *Mysia*, p. 116, no. 36, but not figured in the Plates. This tetradrachm is there assigned to the reign of Attalus I., and is described as bearing the Philetaerus-head. Possibly Mr. Wace might be justified in contending that the conventional head of the Founder has been modified to suit the portrait of the reigning monarch (Attalus), but this is, I think, the utmost that can be conceded. One Pergamene king (Eumenes II) undoubtedly engraved his own portrait on a tetradrachm, but it is somewhat significant that in this case he inscribed the piece with his personal name—EY-

MENON not ΦΙΛΕΤΑΙΡΟΥ—and employed an entirely new and exceptional reverse-type.—J. Svoronos. 'Ο ἀρχαιολογικὸς θησαυρὸς τῶν Ἀντικυθήρων.' The bronze figure of athletic type is restored as Perseus holding in outstretched right hand Medusa's head; in his left hand, the harp. A comparison is made with various gems, coins of Argos, &c.—Regling. 'Lebedos-Ptolemais.' The conjecture previously made from the evidence of coins that Lebedos at one time bore the name of Ptolemais is now justified by an inscription of Magnesia which mentions Πτολεμαίεις ὁ πρότερον καλούμενος Λεβέδιον. WARWICK WROTH.

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

**Journal of Philology.** No. 57.

*Notes on Diogenes Laertius*, J. E. B. Mayor. *The Orthography of Martial's Epigrams*, W. M. Lindsay. *Fulgentiana*, Robinson Ellis. *Aristotle's Conception of Chemical Combination*, Harold H. Joachim. *The Formation of the Julian Calendar with Reference to the Astronomical Year*, J. K. Fotheringham. *The Date of the Crucifixion*, the same, E. B. Cowell. C. W. M[oule]. *The Hamburger Stadtbibliothek Codex No. 1*, Christian D. Ginsburg. *On some passages in Metaphysics A*, Henry Jackson.

**Hermathena.** No. 29. 1903.

*Notes on Cicero Ad Atticum XVI.*, J. S. Reid. *On the Third Foot of the Greek Hexameter*, R. Y. Tyrrell. *Notes on W. L. Newman's Edition of Aristotle's Politics*, Vol. III., Robinson Ellis. *Notes on the Epistles of Horace*, H. T. Johnstone. *The Spirit of Man, A Prolegomenon in Spiritual Metaphysic*, Alexander R. Eagar. *Wendt's Theory of the Fourth Gospel*, F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock. *The Problem of Second Corinthians*, J. H. Kennedy. *Butler's Indebtedness to Aristotle: a Reply*, Frederick Purser. *Certain Aspects of Colonial Democracy* (with especial reference to Australasia), John Wardell. *Notes on Mediaeval Latin Authors*, J. E. Sandys. *Notes on the Odes of Horace*, Ernest Ensor. *Notes on Lactantius*, H. J. Lawlor. *The Relation of Metrical to Accent and Quantity Ictus in Plautine Verse*,

Charles Exon. *Reviews: Roberts' Edition of Devarianus on Style* (R. Y. Tyrrell), favourable. *Roby's Roman Private Law* (C. F. Bastable), favourable. *Greenidge's Legal Procedure in Cicero's Time* (C. Maturin), favourable. *Pichon's De Sermone Amatorio* (unsigned), favourable. *A Graduate of Cambridge's Notes and Emendations to the Greek Tragedians* (unsigned), unfavourable. 'It is unfair to Cambridge that our critic, suppressing his proper name, should have thus inscribed his work with the name of a graduate of that great University.' *Sidgwick's Editions of the Septem contra Thebas and the Persae* (unsigned), favourable on the whole. *May's Translation of the Aeneid* (unsigned), unfavourable. *Macran's Aristoxenus* (unsigned). 'The present edition . . . leaves to previous texts a merely historical interest. The editor's services to the interpretation of his author are of equally fundamental importance.'

**American Journal of Philology.**

*Further Notes on the Mostellaria of Plautus*, Edwin W. Fay. *The Modes of Conditional Thought* (III), W. C. Nutting. *The Editio Princeps of the Greek Aesop* (with a facsimile), George C. Keidel. *On the Non-Existence of Yemi (Yeimi)*, etc., L. H. Mills. *Vica Pota*, Charles Hoeing. *A Medical Papyrus Fragment*, Edgar J. Goodspeed. *Pascal's Studii Critici sul Poema de Lucrezio* (W. A. Heidel).

Wessner's *Aeli Donati quod fertur commentum Terenti* (Minton Warren). Bornecque's *Sénèque le Rhéteur* (A. Gudeman). Brief Mention (chiefly on Bréal's *Un Problème de l'Histoire Littéraire*, the Homeric question). Reports, etc.

**Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.** Vol. 58, 4.

S. Sudhaus, *Zu den Persern des Timotheos*. Critical notes with reference to Wilamowitz's edition. W. Helbig, *Eine Rathversammlung auf einem italischen Relief*. Explanation of a clay frieze found at Velletri in 1784 whose archaic style points to the sixth century B.C. It shows Etruscan influence and may represent a council meeting presided over by Servius Tullius or Tarquinius Priscus in which an officer of the *argvites* gives information of the movements of the Sabines or Ardeates or other hostile troops. J. H. Holwerda, *Zur altgriechischen Tracht*. J. Steup, *Zu der Rede des L. Marcus Philippus aus Sallusts Historien*. Critical notes. A. v. Domaszewski, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Kaisergeschichte*. Memorials from the time of Maximian Thrax. On an inscription from Lavinium and one from Mainz. L. Radermacher, *Euripides als litterarischer Kritiker*. Defends the genuineness of *Elect.* 532-546 (with the exception of 538-544) as a burlesque of the corresponding scene in the *Choephori*. W. Kroll, *Studien über Cicero's Schrift de oratore*. (1) The excursus in the third book (§§ 52-69), (2) other portions due to the influence of Antiochus of Ascalon. F. Solmsen, *Thessaliotis und Pelasgiotis*. On these two dialects and their differences in sounds, accident, and syntax. The Thessalian evidence is chiefly taken from the Sotairos inscription. F. Buecheler, *Eine Verbesserung Petrons*. S. Krauss, *Neue Aufschlüsse über Timesitheus und die Perserkriege*. E. Ritterling, *Coparcotua=Leggân in Galilaea*. L. Radermacher, *Die Zeit der Asinaria*. H. Wegehaupt and A. Brinkmann, *Zum Orakel von Tralles*.

**Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie.** 1903.

14 Oct. J. Meinhold, *Studien zur israelitischen Religionsgeschichte*. I. *Der Heilige Rest*; Teil 1: *Elias, Amos, Hosea, Jesaja* (Meusel), very favourable. *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta*, coll. J. ab Arnim. II. *Chrysippi fragmenta logica et physica* (A. Bonhöffer) II., favourable. Philon de Byzance, *Le livre des appareils pneumatiques et des machines hydrauliques*, éd. et traduit par Carra de Vaux (Fr. Knauff), favourable. *Plini epistularum libri ix, epistularum ad Traianum liber, Panegyricus*, rec. C. F. W. Müller (Th. Opitz). F. Kirchner, *Wörterbuch der philosophischen Grundbegriffe*. 4. Aufl. von C. Michaelis (O. Weissenfels), favourable on the whole.

21 Oct. *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, herausg. von Collitz und Bechtel. III. 1. 5. *Die rhodischen Inschriften*, bearb. von H. van Gelder. IV. 2. 2. *Wortregister zu II.* 2-6, bearb. von H. Meyer und C. Wendel (P. Cauer). *L. Junii Columellae opera*, rec. V. Lundström. Fasc. VI: lib. X (W. Gemoll), 'Makes no advance.' E. Martini, *Analecta Laertiana*, II. (C. Haeblerlin), favourable. *Excerpta Historia iussu Imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta*, ed. Ph. Boissevain, C. de Boor, Th. Büttner-Wobst. I. *Excerpta de legationibus*, ed. C. de Boor (Th. Büttner-Wobst). 'An excellent work.'

28 Oct. A. Boxler, *Précis des institutions publiques de la Grèce et de Rome anciennes* (G. v. Kobilinski), unfavourable. R. Berndt, *De Charete, Chaeride, Alexione grammaticis eorumque reliquiis*. I. *Charete's Chaeridisque fragmenta, quae supersunt* (P. Maas), unfavourable. F. Fröhlich, *Die Glaubwürdigkeit Cäsars in seinem Bericht über den Feldzug gegen die Helvetier* (R. Oehler). 'Can be warmly recommended.' *Der römische Limes in Österreich*, IV (M. Ihm). Fr. J. Kleemeier, *Handbuch der Bibliographie* (C. Haeblerlin), very favourable.

4 Nov. E. Arleth, *Die metaphysischen Grundlagen der Aristotelischen Ethik* (A. Döring), unfavourable. A. Pallis, *A few notes on the gospels according to St. Mark and St. Matthew* (C. Könnecke), favourable. L. Bergmüller, *Einige Bemerkungen zur Latinität des Jordanes* (M. Manitius). 'Gives noteworthy results.' V. Lundström, *Anecdota Byzantina*. Fasc. 1. *Anonymi carmen paraneticum et Pauli Helladici epistolam continens* (G. Wartenberg).

11 Nov. *Griechische-römische Altertumskunde* herausg. von J. Hense (G. v. Kobilinski), unfavourable on the whole. J. J. Oeri, *Die Sophokleische Responion* (H. Otte), unfavourable. S. K. Gifford, *Pauli epistolas qua forma legerit Ioannes Chrysostomus* (R. Knopf). 'A diligent and careful work.' E. J. Chinnock, *A few notes on Julian and a translation of his public letters*, (R. Asmus), favourable. L. Bellanger, *In Antonini Placentini Itinerarium Grammatica Disquisitio* (M. Manitius), very favourable. *Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie*, herausg. von K. Vollmöller, V. 3 (H. Ziemer).

18 Nov. W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek votive offerings, An Essay in the history of Greek religion* (H. Stending). 'Brings little that is new, but valuable on account of the material brought together, and trustworthy.' J. Samuelsson, *Ad Apollonium Rhodium Adversaria* (C. Haeblerlin), favourable. L. Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, 7. Aufl. (K. J. Neumann). 'Belongs to the books which are really read.'

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*Note.—In the General Index names of actual contributors are printed in heavy type.*

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